

# Maclean's

## THE NEW LOOK

GEORGE BUSH  
TAKES OVER THE  
WHITE HOUSE

THE CANADIAN  
CONNECTIONS

THE FIRST LADY AS  
'EVERYBODY'S  
GRANDMOTHER'

THE  
NDP SEARCHES  
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# Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE JANUARY 22, 1989 VOL. 102 NO. 4

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## COVER

### THE NEW LOOK

Washington traffic police were bracing for massive grid lock as 60,000 far-rightists flood the city this week for the five-day, \$30-million inaugural bash for George Bush. Meanwhile, bearing international crises, the Bushes are promised to be a quiet time of ideological drift and pragmatism, overshadowed by the encroaching reality of a projected \$185-billion budget deficit. — 26

## PEOPLE

### CASTING FOR SMALL EGOS



Actress Carol Kane and her friends Diane Keaton and Kathleen Gately ran into unexpected problems when they looked for male stars to take supporting roles in a new movie. Kane, who often plays subsidiary roles to screen actors, found that few men would venture the favor. — 18



## SPORTS

### THE BIG FOURTH DOWN

Guanaback Joe Montana's San Francisco 49ers take on the Cincinnati Bengals in the National Football League's final playoff game. But the football is almost secondary to the Super Bowl ramifications. A British show, *Big Big Bookmakers!*, has a cast of 5,000. — 79

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COASTAL WATERFRONT APARTMENT CONDOS ON



# Legacy Of The Hawks

This week, as George Bush assumes the mantle of the 41st president, he and the American people privately set as a positive agenda to postwar governance. For the first time since the beginning of the Cold War in 1947, there is no clear-cut enemy superpower with the express intent of destroying the United States. Only, that situation was created by timid U.S.-led British presidents to hold office since the Second World War. President Richard Nixon crossed the world in 1972 with a groundbreaking visit to Beijing that ended 22 years of Sino-U.S. hostility. Then, beginning with the Reykjavik summit in 1986, another Republican, President Ronald Reagan, demonstrated that he was receptive to the peace overtures of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. And the world became a less belligerent place.

The awesome threat of nuclear war has not disappeared, but it is receding, and that allows other pressing problems that have long been unattended in the rhetoric of war to emerge in their own right. The change will offer a profound challenge to Bush and his administration. In the coming years, it will be increasingly difficult politically to grant the economy by simply raising defense spending. As a result, regions of the country whose economies are based largely on defense industries will have to turn to peaceful ventures to find new sources of job production.

In place of years of preparing for war, one of the first of the new preoccupations of the United States is likely to be a search for new ways to clean up the planet. That is a race in which Canada is in equal stake, and it promises to be one that will surely test the country's ingenuity. Ottawa also takes an equal place in regard to health care, in the campaign. As former Ottawa correspondent Harry MacKenzie, who joined Toronto Star Mark McDonald in Washington this month, said of the new era: "It is a time when a very different agenda will likely preoccupy Washington."

*Karen Wyle*



**MacKenzie (left) and Wyle (right)** joining  
postwar hawks have descended in the  
battle for peace.

## Maclean's

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# OPENING NOTES

Margaret Kemper visits an old friend, Amy Madigan endures a cattle call, and John Turner gets pain relief

## PRESIDENTIAL CYCLES

Nancy Reagan redecorated the White House in 1981 and, as a result, Barbara Bush has said there is no need for her to refurbish the presidential residence. Instead, the incoming First Lady had a much more homely project in mind as her predecessor guided her through Bush's new home last week's laundry. During her husband George's eight-year stint as U.S. vice-president, Bush said that she keeps the washing machine and dryer in the basement of their residence—and suggested trips up and down the stairs to the laundry as one way of getting regular exercise. Still, Bush added that she wanted to continue washing and drying the clothes of her 10 grandchildren when they visited her—without tourists who were visiting the public areas of the building encountering the First Lady carrying a load of dirty washing. Spokesman Rickie Crispin said that Reagan had occasionally done laundry herself. In a washer and dryer in the third-floor private quarters. *Christopher Crispin: "Mrs. Bush wanted to throw in a load, she could."*

Bush (left). Reagan: a homely project for a First Lady



AP/WIDEWORLD

## Low profile in a high office

Dan Quayle is scheduled to become U.S. vice-president that week, but the former Indiana senator has made few public appearances since the Republican victory last November. As a result, there is widespread speculation in Washington that president-elect George Bush has marginalized the stumble-prone Quayle. By contrast, Bush was highly visible just before he became vice-president in 1981. But Quayle spokespersons say that their boss is busy studying his new, largely ceremonial position—not living low in order to improve his image. Lesson 1: out of sight, out of mind.



RONALD L. MITCHELL

Kemper, Castro: warm rapport and a promise of a departure on schedule

## MEETING THE MAN IN HAVANA

Toronto-based Stoneway Productions, the makers of a forthcoming documentary on Cuba, devised a novel way to gain access to President Fidel Castro during an eight-day visit to Havana in December. 1987: they hired Margaret Kemper, the wife of Pierre Trudeau, to interview him. Richard Nielsen, the producer of *The Shattered Mirror*, a one-hour film that will air on U.S. public broadcasting stations in March, said that they took the actress because Kemper had achieved a warm rapport with Castro

during a state visit to Cuba in 1976. The Cuban leader granted Kemper an interview—but at a time when he knew that the two countries' cameras crews were unavailable. Still, when Kemper complained at an off-camera interview that mechanical problems had delayed the crew's departure aboard a Cubana flight from Toronto, an embarrassed Castro guaranteed a prompt return. Indeed, passengers on the return flight had to be at the airport one hour earlier than scheduled—and the plane took off precisely on time.

## FOREIGN GARBAGE ON THE CABINET TABLE

The closure of a municipal incinerator in Toronto last July created a ongoing new problem for this federal cabinet: how to dispose of garbage at Pearson International Airport. Under federal law, refuse from international flights has to be burned to guard against the spread of heartworm disease. But other Ontario incinerators refused to take the garbage. Indeed, almost 2,000 tons of garbage had collected at the airport before a Niagara Falls, N.Y.-based incinerator—105 km away by highway—accepted the waste last October. Now, federal officials are evidently hoping an experimental system that will sterilize the waste at the airport and compress it into bricks for landfill will provide a permanent solution to a jet-age garbage problem.



## Lining up for stardom

For many actors, one of the hallmarks of success is no longer having to attend casting sessions that are crowded with rejects. Still, several leading Hollywood actresses had to endure an ugly-sounding cattle call meeting last winter when they tried out for two major roles in the recently released movie, *The Accidental Tourist*. Indeed, when Alan Alda recruited director Lawrence Kasdan's office, she joined a crowd of such established actresses as Mary Steenburgen, Laura Dern, Kim Cattrall, Victoria Tennant and Jellicle Williams. According to Madigan's personal manager, Alice Sanger, who claimed back the unexpected encounter with good grace, *"It is a buyer's market right now in New York—especially in the women's area."* But that is not comfort; the roles went to Kathleen Turner and Geena Davis, two actresses who did not attend that cattle call.

*Madigan crowds a "buyers' market"*

## Office turnover

As John Turner underwent a successful operation to relieve back pain in Toronto last week, the consternation from the



RONALD L. MITCHELL

*Turner's revamped staff*

opposition leader's office continued in Ottawa. In the latest personnel change since the Nov. 21 federal election, press secretary Jane McDowell leaves interim director of communications—replacing Ray Meador, who is seeking a new job. Turner blamed place to recuperate in Jamaica early next month before returning to a reorganized staff roster on Feb. 22.

## A name for the Conservatives

**A**t a tour director for Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, Toronto lawyer John Tory played a key role in engineering a Progressive Conservative victory during the 1984 federal election campaign. And while Mulroney's longtime friend remained his law partner after the May 21 election, many influential Conservatives want him to make a swift return to the political arena—an a candidate for the leadership of Ontario's once-powerful provincial party. According to one reporter, such party heavyweights as former Ontario premier William Davis, Senator Norma Arkiss and former Ontario PC campaign secretary Hugh Segal want Tory to succeed interim leader Andrew Broadbent at a party convention, which will likely be



## RUMORS AND APPEARANCES

During the presidential election campaign, George Bush denied that he had engaged in a lengthy affair with 60-year-old Jennifer Fitzgerald, a veteran staff aide. Instead, the unfounded speculation even caused a brief dip in the Dow Jones industrial average last October. Bush has again shown his contempt for that whisper campaign by making Fitzgerald the administration's deputy chief of protocol. Now, if in Fitzgerald who will have to worry about appearances, her job is to ensure that the visits of foreign leaders to Washington run smoothly.

*Bury: party heavyweights and a leadership campaign*

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## COLUMN



# Making a profitable nostalgia trip

BY DIANE FRANCIS

My teenage son and his friends regularly spread their investments out as the long-term horizon recedes. Despite their inherently tender ages, their portfolios continue to invest in value while maintaining diversification. And their grandfather continues to mount despite the stock market crash of 1987 and the hideously performance of the markets ever since. But the secret of their success is that they are not investing in stocks or bonds with an eye on future profits. They are looking in on the past, buying and selling childhood baseball and hockey cards, and often they are outperforming many top stockholders. For instance, in my gold share RRIF in what last summer in the Toronto Stock Exchange, my son's Mario Lemieux collection more than doubled in value to \$15 from \$8 per card.

Trading cards have become big business. Known as sports collectibles, these rings from cards in mint and even damaged condition to prevent-and-repair memorabilia. They are being sold as cheap sets worth to sparsely as regularly on both sides of the border. And there is a market in old baseball cards as well. It sounds a little bit like a kind of nostalgia in stocks that older cards increase like general memory. Besides that, it is an unexpected extension of that pleasant boyhood preoccupation with collecting and swapping cards with friends.

For years, the values are often high. Rare cards fetch six-figure prices. These values, like those in the stock market or at the grocery store shelf, are directly affected by supply and demand. Even though cards are published annually by card manufacturers, supply is limited because there are just two companies that have the right to photograph and reprint National Hockey League players and their companies do it the same for major-league baseball. Proceeds from the sale of the cards go to both the baseball and hockey players' associations, so piracy is illegal.

On average, baseball cards are far more valuable than hockey cards. That is because

*While the value of stocks declines, many young investors have found the rewards of old bubble-gum hockey and baseball cards*

newspaper sports sections. Said Jukich: "You look for home runs, the game averages of pitchers. Who has gone down for three. That kind of thing makes the card is worth more. You also look for trades. Take the Blue Jays' Fred McGriff. If he's traded to the Yankees, there will be more interest in his rookie card."

Unfortunately, players' fortunes are like the stock market's, and when they go up can come down. The rookie card for Blue Jay George Bellucci had to wait over a year to recover to \$11 a card from \$12 in his game, discounted. And the past is also more valuable because it is rare. For instance, the latest US sports trading catalog quotes a price of \$625 for a complete set of 100 players made 1864-1865, while for a set of 1870 players were worth only \$40.

Hockey in Canada, however, is still more popular than baseball. In stores like Z & Z, customers can create huge inventories of cards and buy special edition ones to keep them in mint condition. Collectors also profit in playing cards, posters and autographed items including balls, bats and hockey sticks. Hockey cards fetch higher prices because of the relatively modest expansion of the National Hockey League, combined with the fact that fans are scattered mostly across Canada and a handful of US cities. One of the most valuable hockey cards around these days is a Wayne Gretzky's 1879-1880 rookie card, worth \$65. But that is a trifling sum compared to the \$70,000 the rookie card of Jaromir Jagr, an outfitter with the Golden Knights.

Because autographed cards are more valuable than unsigned ones, one of the biggest draws to the regular card shows is the fact that players attend who will sign cards for a fee. Buffalo's Mickey Mantle makes a handsome living doing that, among other batman interests, in thousands upon square feet per year. Mantle signs 30 to 40 cards a day. His fee: \$150 to sign five cards, bats or hats. A Mantle card at mint condition can be worth up to \$7,200.

Cards shown function as miniature stock markets for sports collectibles. Typical of the trend was one I attended in December at a Toronto mall in a room the size of a small gymnasium. There was a sound auctioneer of \$3, a couple of former hockey stars on hand for signings and dozens of tables set up by dealers and collectors who had brought their boxes and sole. Like stock markets, however, publishing recent record prices for cards of all kinds. But, said Zukich, "Buffalo is not of that much interest anymore."

As with any financial activity, crooks have sometimes gotten in on the act. Several years ago, a man in the United States was convicted of counterfeiting Pete Rose cards, and there are still shenanigans such as name boards "shortening" the market and buy from wholesalers in large batches before the cards can reach the stores. It is also a misconception of the stock market, except that collectors are often amateurish about their investments. Said my son: "I know the value of my card collection has doubled, but I cannot even imagine selling." But that is not the case with the stocks, especially ones that drop in value. I can vouch for that.

# PARTY POLITICS

## THE NDP FACES A TESTING TIME AMID INDICATIONS THAT BROADBENT PLANS TO CALL IT QUIT

**F**or the New Democratic Party—and for the nation—the year 1987 would mark the end of an era. NDP Leader John Edward Broadbent, one of the most popular politicians of his generation, will likely announce within two months that he is stepping down from the position that he has held since July 1975. Broadbent, like many New Democrats, had high hopes of achieving a historic breakthrough in electoral support at the last election. But though on Nov. 21 those hopes were dashed, NDP candidates won a record 43 seats—up from the 22 they had in the last Parliament—but the party attracted just 30 per cent of the people's vote, a figure comparable to its support in the past three elections. Since then, Broadbent, 52, has consulted with Broadbent's personal staff—including his wife, former MP Sheila Lee, 46, former leader of Ontario New Democrats—and his son, 26, now in the verge of "a wrenching internal review."

After the federal election, former party members lashed out at senior NDP officials for their management of the campaign—an anger fuelled largely by the party's inability to capitalize on opposition in the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. Broadbent himself was spared much personal criticism, although last week John Rodriguez, MP for the Northern Ontario riding of Sudbury Bell, became the first New Democratic MP to openly query Broadbent's should resign. "I think Ed should seriously consider stepping down," he told a CBC TV reporter on Jan. 12.

At the same time, Broadbent's staff braced for another attack from within the ranks as NDP—along with several embittered former MPs who lost their seats—gathered in Ottawa at week's end for a two-day meeting. But more and more, the angry members have given way to broad questions about the party's future. "People were angry in December," says deputy campaign director Robie Sims, himself a major focus of the criticism. "But since then, the party has been much more reflective—and that is good news."

The current internal debate is unmatched since the early 1970s, when New Democrats



Scars: the campaign and critic

now have earned 13 different provincial government posts. Former Senator Peter Scott, who has served in senior party posts for 30 years, and such a senior-level political家 have earned their third consecutive election victory, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation's election of socialist workers and the passage of foreign investment regulations.

The anti-socialists have been prompted in part by broadening political swings abroad, where some socialist and social democratic parties have won their third consecutive election victory, the Labour Party in the early 1970s and now elsewhere at the University of Toronto, and that on a tap to New Zealand

in 1987, where a normally Socialist government holds power, he was shocked to find it transferring responsibility for some government services such as health care to private hands and putting rigid controls on government spending to control the deficit—politics were in line with the thinking of orthodox Canadian Conservatives.

Then in its supposed moment turned such economic conservatives within Canada's socialist party. But some influential star supporters and analysts have noted the electoral success of some largely socialist parties. For his part, former MP fiscal secretary Captain, 56, has called on the party to examine the economic policies of nominally Socialist governments in New Zealand, Australia and France, the lesson. And former Waffle leader Lester, 47, an economist at Toronto's York University, has criticized the party for clinging on to outdated concepts of state manipulation of the economy. The star, Lester said, has become "an anachronism and has become."

As it considers its policy options, the party must confront one overriding question: could it continue to win power if it does not let itself go to the self-appointed consciousness of the nation? Ted Lewis, who spent four years as Canadian ambassador to the United Nations before returning to Canada last fall, "It would be wonderful for the party to exercise power, but it is not necessary. We can do useful things without being in government." This view informs many party professionals, particularly in Western Canada, where the NDP has its greatest strength. The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation's 13 different provincial government posts. Former Senator Peter Scott, who has served in senior party posts for 30 years, and such a senior-level political家 have earned their third consecutive election victory, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation's election of socialist workers and the passage of foreign investment regulations.

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Broadbent in the House of Commons: there will be no shortage of contenders

and so on. People were angry in December," says deputy campaign director Robie Sims, himself a major focus of the criticism. "But since then, the party has been much more reflective—and that is good news."

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The current internal debate is unmatched since the early 1970s, when New Democrats

## National Notes

**CROWDED SKIES**  
The Canadian Air Traffic Controllers Association called for a public inquiry into air traffic problems at Canada's major airports. Later the same day, there were two near collisions at Toronto's busy Pearson International Airport—one involving two Canadian Airlines jets carrying more than 250 people.

**SMOKERS' RATE**  
Statistics Canada reported that 54 per cent of Canadians are regular smokers, down from a high of 43 per cent in 1986. Smoking among both men (31 per cent) and women (29 per cent) is decreasing.

**LIBERAL AGAIN**  
A judge rejected the federal election result in the Toronto-area riding of York North. It was the second reversal of the seat, and a central Conservative Michael O'Brien more than a month after he was sworn in. Liberal Maurice Belanger was declared the winner in the Nov. 2 election by 12 votes. The return went to the House of Commons. Progressive Conservatives 168, Liberals 83, New Democrats 43, vacant 1.

**SUSPICIONS OF MURKIN**  
Police were searching in the Wasaga area for the body of Christine Jarvis, 23, who has not been seen since Dec. 17. They charged her husband, Brian Jacko, former right end for the Wasaga Blue Bombers of the Canadian Football League, with second-degree murder.

**ANOTHER CRASH**  
A Canadian Forces CF-18 Hornet crashed over Cold Lake, Alta., killing the pilot, Capt. Wally Ross, 31. It was the eighth aircraft to go down since the Liberal government of Pierre Trudeau adopted the purchase of more than 130 of the jet fighters at \$600 million.

**POSTPONING THE LINE**  
Federal Transport Minister Bernard Valcourt announced a one-year postponement of the long-delayed project that would connect Prince Rupert Island with New Brunswick, Manitoba, a panel of experts will assess the environmental impact of the proposed eight-mile-long pipeline.

**NEEDLES FOR ADDICTS**  
Toronto city council endorsed a \$504,000 pilot project under which street-skinning drug users will receive clean needles in exchange for used ones. The program is intended to help in the fight against AIDS, which can be spread by sharing dirty needles.

## Alberta's 'loose cannon'

### *Calgary's mayor seeks a new challenge*

**T**he growing firm of 300 Calgary Rotary Club members at a luncheon last week left no doubt about the mayor's popularity. But moments after the Rotarians' ovation of him to a chorus of "What a great Mayor!" (Calgary's Mayor Klein) to the tune of My Darling Clementine on Jan. 10, Mayor Klein announced that he was quitting city politics to stand as a Conservative in the next Alberta provincial election. After almost two years as mayor—which included leading Calgary through the heavy February 1988 Winter Olympics—Klein, 46, announced to the federal election campaign that Nasiriany, another senior Tory leaders. For one thing, the provincial party has a history of picking its candidates at the basis of team performance and their history of constituency service rather than individual political stances outside the party. And despite Klein's popularity—he attracted his largest crowd at a luncheon last year, part by regularly frequenting a downtown Calgary tavern where he is study apparently quite popular—Albertans noted that Calgary's \$1.6 billion debt, the second-highest per capita debt in the country after Montreal, 2,000



Kuhn and his wife, Collector for Getty, a chance to improve greatly fortunate.

offer from Prentiss, Dallas Getty to make the state a provincial polity. For Getty, it was a coup, and a chance to hold on his government's sagging profile at the wane of its days. In his cabinet ministers that they will now not be a gain. And for Klein, a former Liberal who has a real aversion for marching in his own feet, the offer had already been too good to resist. He believed that he could be a strong lieutenant of southern Alberta—certainly there would be a cabinet position. Klein told the evidence: "If the province is going to allow for a lot of a loose canon on deck, I'll accept."

Getty's recruitment of Klein increased speculation that the premier may be planning to call a provincial election this spring. But the premier's offer to the cabinet mayor, made in a Calgary hotel room after Klein publicly endorsed free trade at a Conservative rally during

For three years in office, some party members would put Getty at a strong position against both the opposition war, which lasts 16 years, and the resurgent government who since last October have been led former Education major Laurence Decos and hold four seats (Of the remaining three seats, one is vacant and the other two are held by the Progressive Party.) Said one strong Democrat: "It looks like spring to me."

When the election comes, Klein is likely to be a Calgary's dominant Elbow riding—much Russell has held for 22 years. And the unencumbered department from the cabinet, in effect, gives Klein's choices for a post-election to the Alberta government—which he obviously has already been assured. But he will probably will choose to defer to another grizzled veterans like Terry Linden about the reconstruction of a party calendar. Said Russell: "Attracting us to the party is a crap. He is a very interesting and good candidate and a popular guy, but he can't get us back." Klein appears short on ideas, but he has a command cabinet pair ruffled feathers in

For his part, Klein acknowledged that he at present has no desire to leave provincial politics, but says: "During the years in a true leadership, he gained a reputation as a political maverick by not relying on party networks. That's one of the challenges he's demonstrated that I believe he's a true player," he said. But, he added, the premier wants to keep the party. He'd like me to bring my style of Calgary politics to the Progressive Conservative party—and I have no intention of fleeing the fold. It is no secret I am an unapologetic conservative at heart.

The mayor's casual, open style—the so-called "Right by phone and headlines write-alive"—has been at the heart of his almost uniformly positive, including the 1990s era, which is how he was accounting 95 percent of the vote. A former radio and television newsman, Klein has drawn support from a coalition of ethnic, working-class red collar groups. He has a media-style toughness as well as a variety of social attitudes, whether it's a pro-gangster Calgary Petroleum Club or a favorite river course like the St. Louis River. "He's always been a source of warmth," says one of Klein's closest political allies. "He's a deeply amiable guy," says Dennis Hooper, a former executive at Calgary's crack radio station of one of Klein's bosses during the mayor's early career as a minister. "He has a way of making things from street level, not from the ivory towers."

But Klein will clearly have to become accustomed to the view from the towns as well. Inconvenience has also resulted in political gaffes, one of the worst being his ill-advised descriptions of job-seekers flooding into housing Calgary as "creeps and bums" from other parts of the country. On the provincial political stage, the self-declared "home issues" will have to make sure that he does not shoot himself in the foot.

1995 1996 1997 in California



<sup>1</sup>Effects accessible in practice: 'a mix of frustration and demoralization'.

## Black-and-white issues

### *Tensions grip Toronto's police and blacks*

**I**t begins with the morning shift at the Metropolitan Toronto Police Force's 41 Division in suburban Scarborough. Some officers arriving for work were so angry that they refused to go on patrol with their weapons. As reports of the riotous spread, officers in 65 Division at the city's east end, 53 Division in the north, 13 Division at the west and 52 Division downtown threatened to walk out.

advised their descendant. "It was a process," Deputy Police Chief William McCrack commented later. "A range of things from business and other demonstrations."

The spark that ignited the anti-government protest within the Toronto police force was the arrest of Const. David Devney, 33, after a five-month investigation by the Ontario Provincial Police, Devney, a 12-year veteran of the force, was charged with manslaughter in the death of Lester Davidson, a 44-year-old black who was shot and killed during a scuffle with police in a running house late August.

of the problem, however, are much less dramatic than was the local police officer to arrested in a week in connection with a young death—and the second to be charged as a murderer. Earlier, Const. Anthony Mangan of the neighboring Peel Region Police Force had been charged with wife-beating, and his partner, Darlene Loupage, aggravated assault, at the death of Michael Jackson, a 19-year-old man from Laval who was also black. All three police officers are white. And each case has been at the centre of a growing controversy over relations between the police and minority communities.

The manslaughter charge against Deviney was laid, in fact, only hours after the Black Action Defense Committee, a group formed at the end of the 1970s to expose the police's killing of public figures, threatened to storm Ontario Attorney General Ian Scott's office to demand that the policeman be charged with murder. That same committee was the first of a host of groups to have murder charges laid at the Peel policemen involved in the killing of Lewan, killed by gunfire a month earlier during a stolen car. In both cases, the committee, as well as members of

other Black groups, have demanded the last charges. They claim that both killings are a sign of racism within local police forces, pointing out that there are only 243 members of visible minorities in uniform on the 5,480-strong Toronto police force. And Black speakers also say that the rules governing evidence in a murder trial would mean that issues such as police conduct had open to public scrutiny. Said Latif Ali, a spokesman for the Black Action Committee: "A charge of manslaughter will set a precedent for the future to come."

Police officer differs, particularly in the case of Detective Police spokesman said last week that all Toronto officers, regardless of race, age or gender over his 20-year career, have had at least one member of their force both at the top and the bottom, and that he has seen no evidence that proves police's effect was pre-determined by race.

"Detractors always bring up charges," he said. "I would say it's a matter of opinion, and I think it's a matter of fact."

Arthur Green, president of the Metropolitan Toronto Police Association, agreed. Police Chief John Lippard, speaking to The Toronto Star while on a vacation, said that the separate agency's own investigations or decisions in proceed with "no racial slant."

"According to my information, and I used to be concerned, that the whole package of evidence was forwarded to the attorney general's department, and the attorney general's review may make clear,"

For his part, Scott denied that he had caved in to any form of political pressure. "I'm not afraid of not out at all," he told reporters in the wake of the firemen's coming from the police precinct. "I'm not afraid of the legislature," he said. The press conference followed as this case is precisely the process that has been followed by other attorneys general and their law offices at the previous "hot" trials. "But Scott refused to comment on the nature of the Crown prosecutor's recommendations and said that he would not make them public. Although Scott did not mention Martin, he said that the police chief was not a member of the investigation or team of experts. Thus controlled by the department's staff, and it demanded the long investigation of the Donithorne case by the Ontario Provincial Police — even though no suspect passed between the shooting and the charges. He said that cases in which police officers are investigated can often be particularly complex because there is a "variety of defenses" available to people who are

He was reportedly shot in the head at close range. The police staged what was called last week another mock trial that added to the tensions between the force and the black community, bringing Toronto police and their counterparts in neighbouring Durham Region, Ontario, into a clash of cultures, stormed a Sunday church service in Scarborough. Acting on a tip-off in a calendar, they busted off live竹, including a 13-year-old girl. All were later released, with apologies that they were black, and one was an East Indian. It was not the card action calculated to win friends for the force. The Toronto star's visible mistakes.

— 1 —

# School-yard racism

## Blacks and whites brawl in Nova Scotia

**I**t began innocently enough—a snowball thrown by a white student that hit a black youth bussing to school to go home from nearby minor Cole Harbour District High School in Halifax County, N.S. But just set off a fight that ended with ten arrests. But the next day, along with all black and white youths and all students involved, a segregation brawl in the school parking lot. Four students were later treated for injuries at Dartmouth General Hospital and released. And as Wednesday, Jan. 15—two days after the schoolyard incident—brawls increased again as about 100 black and white students stood staring at each other across the school parking lot during the lunch hour. When bouncers broke up police quickly dispersed the students. After that these show-downs, officials closed the school for a day and a half to let tempers cool, while police laid charges against 14 people in connection with the violence.

Classes resumed for Friday morning only, but it remained clear that the flora still smoldered. "This last week has been a disaster for us," Cole Harbour principal Angus MacNeil told a crowd of more than 1,800 parents, students and concerned citizens, pressed into the school gymnasium on Thursday night to discuss the clashes. He added: "This has been a real setback for schools, to our community. I have to say tonight, we have a problem."

Still, not everyone agreed about how deeply the racial divide runs in the south town's 30,000 inhabitants. Lloyd Galle, chief executive officer of the Halifax County School Board, maintained that while the afternoon racial clash between black and white students, that did not necessarily mean that "the school is divided." Adds Galle: "I don't think the school as we find a small segment of the school and the community conducting themselves a way which is causing the whole community to despair." Some spoke up for the more than 15,000 blacks in Nova Scotia—just under three per cent of the province's population of 675,000—but said that the board was indicative of a larger problem as Nova Scotians racially segregated schools and neighborhoods across the province.

For its part, Donald Smith, a Baptist minister serving three local black areas and a language

cate of the entrenched differences between white and black communities, said that racism in the education system has been a problem for years. Although no official statistics exist, Smith and other community leaders say that unemployment among Nova Scotian blacks is as high as 60 per cent, compared with about 12 per cent in the province as a whole. And with such enormous differences existing among students, last week's confrontation was no much a clash of race as it was a clash of whites against blacks and then Caucasians, a sociologist at Halifax's Dalhousie University.

Local and national politicians heard their concerns at last Thursday's meeting, many of them calling for solutions to the racial divide. Among the recommendations were education about black history and culture, better communication between both parents and children and whites and blacks and more public discussion of racism.

At the same time, MacNeil pledged to take a tough stand in the event of any future altercations. "We will not allow any further ugly incidents," the principal said to ringing applause.

Provincial Education Minister Ronald Goffe said that part of the problem at Cole Harbour is the school's over-crowding. In fact, with 1,700 students contained in two separate buildings, Cole Harbour is the legitimate high school as the previous Sud Goffe, who also pledged provincial money last week to build a new school. "When you have a school that has 1,700 students in it, the sheer volume presents a whole set of problems in terms of administration and discipline."

"But some black policemen disagree with Goffe's assessment of the situation," says a source, adding that they viewed the racial divide as "debased truth." They say the school will build new schools, but that doesn't solve the problem of racism.

"If you put one group in one place and one group in another, then all you have done is isolate two parts of the community," Smith, meanwhile, said that the current controversy could, ultimately, prompt positive change. "Maybe something good may come of all this. At least it may cause the public to open their eyes to racism." In the wake of last week's ugly incident, at least that much seemed assured.

MARY SEMKETH with DEBORAH JONES in Halifax



Milling students at Cole Harbour: 'This has been a real setback'

# Boss of the outdoors

## Mulroney picks an ex-Liberal for a key role

**W**ith the election-charged debate over free trade dominating last fall's federal election campaign, Brian Mulroney could devote little time to the agenda for his second term. But while much of his new government's first months will be spent dealing with unfriendly business in the first term, such as tax reform and deregulation, Mulroney is also taking the lead on the issue that his adversary used to dominate the Canadian political landscape of the 1980s—the environment. Mulroney has learned that Mulroney will appear internationally concerned environmentalist Maurice Strong, once a prominent Canadian who helped save another Liberal predecessor candidate to head a new federal agency, the Centre for Sustainable Economic Development, being set up in Winnipeg. The centre, which will provide advice and technology to businesses and governments for economic growth with minimal ecological damage, is the planned jewel of the new Tory environmental program.

For two years, the Tories' internal polling of Canadian attitudes has shown increased concern for the environment. But environmental protection groups frequently attacked Mulroney for his failure during his first term to secure an end to trade with the United States and accused him of closing jobs and funding in the federal government's environment department. Mulroney started last year to define more of that criticism by paying more attention to the environment. On April 27 in Washington, he chastised the U.S. Congress for failing to move on and ran fast, and in June announced a \$10-billion cleanup of the St. Lawrence River. That same month, he placed the environment on the agenda for the economic summit of the leaders of the world's seven major industrial countries in Toronto. And on Sept. 29, in his address to the United Nations General Assembly in New York City, Mulroney delivered his pledge to create a "Winnipeg centre."

But the choice of Strong, 58, as the strongest indication yet that the Prime Minister has chosen a sustainable interest in environmental issues. The former president of Montreal's Power Corp., the first chairman of Petro-Canada and an unsuccessful Liberal candidate in the 1979 federal election, Strong has spent much of the past two decades as a key international activist through several United Nations organizations, including serving as the executive director of the UN's environmental program based in Nairobi, until mid-1987. He was also Canada's representative on the influential 22-member World Commission on Environment and Development, headed by former Norwegian prime minister Gro Harlem Brundtland,

which in April, 1987, issued dire warnings about the devastating economic effects of global pollution. Mulroney has reportedly Brundtland's report's conclusion that long-term economic growth is dependent upon preserving the environment.

Saying was a Green last week, participating the World Economic Forum, and declined to confirm the appointment publicly. He said only that he has been asked to give some advice to the Winnipeg centre and added that he is a strong supporter of the centre's mandate to promote technological solutions to the environmental crisis that accompanies the economic expansion in the developing world.

With his credentials as a businessman and international environmentalist, Strong is well-positioned to represent the new role of environmental leadership intended and to add to the centre's international profile and credibility. In keeping with the heightened attention to environmental policies, the Prime Minister is also expected to bring his environmental credentials to those duties as currently performed by Secretary of State Louise Beaudoin—a member of the powerful priorities and planning committee of cabinet. That would be another indication of the main political importance of environmental issues—and of the Prime Minister's recognition that aggressive pursuit of them can only enhance his global reputation.



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# The cucumber scandal

A minister resigns as an experiment founders

**I**t was one more setback for the controversial attempt to make a province of Newfoundland a cucumber producer. Newfoundland's previous agriculture minister, Charles Power, resigned from Premier Brian Peckford's cabinet on Jan. 9, declaring that his cucumbers did not allow him to work for a government that continued to pump money into a project "that is all the rags." The source of his displeasure: a \$22-million cucumber-

growing complex operated by Calgary businessman Philip Spragg and his family on 8.4 acres near St. John's. The province has put \$17 million into the project, which went into full production last fall. But in December, the crop mysteriously died, and the complex, whose operations are now being subsidized by the government, has not yet started production again. Declared Power, 40, as he announced his resignation: "The straw that broke the camel's back was when I learned that the Spraggs were spending \$7,200 a day to keep the empty greenhouse—so that the snow would melt and not cause us the rags."

Still, Peckford, 46, raised questions about Power's decision, stressing his reasons only to improve his public profile. The popular Power is widely touted as a future provincial Tory leadership candidate although he denies having leadership aspirations. Peckford, premier for 10 years, has said that he will lead the party in the next election, expected this year.

The premier has also denied reports that he is getting ready to resign and return to private life. In November, 1987, in St. John's, Shadow Energy and then Peckford accepted an executive position from Creig Deeks, chairman of Canadian Hydrogen Corp., a hydroelectric charter company in St. John's. Since then, Deeks has continued to insist that the premier accepted the job offer but that he backed down after the report appeared about his impending resignation. Last week, Peckford again maintained that he intended to stay on as premier and he has accused Deeks of being part of a conspiracy to force him to resign. The premier has said that he still has two main goals in his political agenda: bringing the huge Atlantic Ocean hydrogen gas field into production by the early 1990s and further development of hydroelectric power production in Labrador.

The cucumber complex at the centre of the squabble has had its detractors from the start. Critics claimed that in Newfoundland's rainy climate, the expense of maintaining the necessary growing lights would make production costs so high that the complex would have to sell its cucumbers in a loss. Indeed, Spragg cucumbers went on the market in Newfoundland last summer for as little as \$5.50 each—\$1.50 cents lower than the production cost. Then, in December, the plants at the complex—which had been producing about 17,000 lbs of cucumbers per week—suddenly began dying. Spragg claimed that there had been sabotage—and offered \$10,000 reward for information leading to the events of the crime. But in his resignation statement, Power discounted Spragg's accusations, blaming the crop failure on poor management. Declared Power: "The climate is never to blame unless out of the basic out of a certain agricultural animal?" For his part, Peckford has said that the farming complex is merely undergoing growing pains. But even in a province where residents have traditionally been more concerned with fish than vegetables, members will clearly be on the political menu for months to come.

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CANADA

## Deadly coastal spills

*Oil slicks are threatening both coasts*

**O**n the Atlantic and Pacific coasts last year, the shrimps were such a scarce commodity that it was illegal to import them by the Canadian Coast Guard and customs radars. In addition, they killed hundreds of birds and marine mammals. In Newfoundland, the coast guards seized the Liberian-registered trawler Northern Glancer and arrested its crew because it was carrying 100 metric tons of shrimp as well as 100 metric tons of lobster oil and 100 metric tons of the previous year's Pandalus longirostris. The shrimp crew had been fishing on the west coast of Vancouver Island when they found a large thick block of frozen salmon weighing 12,000 kilograms, enough to fill two dozen highway tankers. The salmon—shoved a large truck into Washington state on Dec. 20—contained 10 short, salmon-like fish.

island, cold, and often pelted by rain, snow, and sleet. Vancouver Island, seeing the postponement of passenger flights to check reports that even birds of the air had reached land north of the nest, confirmed sightings, and sent up the island. The oil began drifting onto the shores of Washington state and northern California—oily, glistening, and so far-reaching that it provoked a fragile Pacific Coast National Park after the park was established in the south.

The Columbia River of Washington, by the long stretch of its water's end, an estimated 500 dead anchovies had been found on the sandbar's southern reaches, although environmentalists contend that the total number would go much higher. A spokesman for the Columbia River department of fisheries and game said that drivers had determined that herring spawning grounds and fishless bays were so far undamaged, mainly because heavy winter surf drove the oil high up the beaches, which are among the densest

Much of the cleanup was being done by volunteers like Lindsay Armstrong of the west side's gated resort community of Tolosa. The 16-year-old Armstrong took apart leaf-trimmers and leaf-blowing planes for Bobbi Arribas and her son, former David Leffkow, set up an operation in the local feedlot to rework the tractors—up to 120 a day—shoveling and piling up millions of cubic yards of garbage bags. Some of the volunteers were working 16-hour shifts.

ion of the island's beaches and that government agencies were slow in responding to oil spill. For his part, B.C. Environment Minister Bruce Strachan blamed the coast guard. "The coast guard made an assumption after about Dec. 23 that the oil slick would eat at our coastline," declared Strachan. "And

at Washington state's Olympic National Park. "Scavengers—eagles and raccoons—are eating the contaminated dead birds. It's going up the food chain. The effects are so subtle, I doubt we'll ever know the true extent of the damage."

for compensation. Fisheries Minister Jim Sillitoe and acting environment minister Lucien Bouchard announced that the federal government will help people evoke damages against the sag's owner, Sase Brulee of Trenton Co. of Good Bay Corp., which has assumed responsibility for the spill. Chief Si-Lucan of the Nauvach-wuk Indian tribal council, north of Tolovana, whose members live on the sea, said: "This oil may affect us for years. It affects the chain of life we depend on." The impact on the tourism industry is likely to be disastrous. The Tolovana and Long Beach Chamber of Commerce announced last week that a just-completed study estimates the region's tourism industry to be worth \$14.3 billion annually, supporting 45 businesses and 1,771 jobs. Jim Gandy, head of Tolovana Sea Kayaking Co. "The authorities keep calling it a minor spill, but I can really conceive what a major spill would be like because we have lots of nooks and crannies of rocky and sandstone cliffs."

In Newfoundland, the coast guard reported Friday that while there were several oil-covered dead and dying seals on the beaches, "very little" oil had reached the shoreline, and helicopter pilots had found areas of sea blubber had washed up on the coast. The coast guard said it was continuing its search and its search for further evidence of the size of the spill. The Northern Dancer was unpaned after the coast guard found oil and tar balls on the beaches at Gullivier Cove and Fox Haven, 15 miles south of the vessel's destination.

A black and white photograph of a man in a fur-trimmed coat standing by a body of water, holding a large fish.

L.C. naturalist William McIntyre and soil science parts of soil

and clearly the most im-

had been the wrong conclusion, guard apologetically said that they had set many traps because they believed the northerly current would keep the oil from leaking. The gale that blew the slick north, they said, had been unexpected. The Coast Guard said that it had expected the sea to break up the spill.

estimate how long the cleanup would take or what the cost would eventually be, history offered a sobering comparison: in 2003, 157,000 gallons of oil escaped from a ship at the harbor of Port Angeles, Wash. The *eventual* cost of that cleanup: \$30 million.

#### **QUESTIONS**

## MOVE OVER, FAULKNER

As the winner of the 10th annual GAT Literary contest, Brett Henneman had editor competition. This year, the more than 2,000 hopefuls included William Faulkner, O. Henry and Franz Kafka; their short stories were entered as a form but were rejected by preliminary readers. Instead, the judges chose A. Van der Wiel's Henneman's story about a black maid and her white employer in South Africa. Said Henneman, 20, a former management consultant who started writing in 1978 when he retired to the Nelson, S.C., area: "I'm surrounded."

## In the lead

**When actresses Carol Kane,**

**W**hite Castle and Kathryn Grody were ready to make a movie based on a plot that they developed four years ago, they ran into an unexpected problem—male egos. Kane says that many established stars assumed the supporting roles they considered about three female actresses who try to "act like men" would be too farfetched to consider. She adds: "I told them [Ellen Burstyn, Robert De Niro and Alfre Woodard] 'You can't do it.' They said, 'Well, you can't do it either,' and I said, 'Well, I could if you guys act as second fiddle for *The Laramie Incident*, scheduled for release in September.' For her part, the 36-year-old Kane, who has built a successful career in supporting roles—her latest part is in a group of Christmas movies currently shooting—says that she wishes the movie industry would realize in the time when female stars dominate the screen. In Hollywood now, she adds, "Double roles are hard to find."



Kane dominates the screen

PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFFREY M. COHEN

## A KNOCKOUT ROLE

After walking away from a reportedly tumultuous marriage to heavyweight champion Mike Tyson, Robin Givens is taking a lot of punches of work. The 24-year-old actress says that she is "bruised from head to toe and exhausted" after a day of playing a women held hostage by her former boyfriend for the movie *The Penthouse*, now filming in Venezuela, where last week Tyson paid a surprise visit that resulted in a rescue with photographs. For Givens, who has tried for diverse roles from *Sixty 23*, following on *Thirtysomething* marriage, it was a case of life imitating art.

Strike one  
for the record

**Former pitcher Ferguson Jenkins,** 43, remained for his past year, married out in his first year of eligibility for the baseball Hall of Fame. The Baseball Writers Association of America voted in Johnny Bench and Carl Yastrzemski, but the Cleveland Dist., native came up short—even though he was the only pitcher to strike out more than 3,000 batters while walking less than 2,000. Still, his first year taking up a legendary砌. Wait until next year.

## FOREVER YOUNG

**A**ctor Eric Braeden is making a comeback at 67 as one of *Days' greatest lovers*—himself. In a new musical movie, *From Places Far & Wide*, he plays himself, dancing and singing the love songs that he'd had his heartbreak songs, that the movie units a major part of his life—he's 34-year-married to actress Brooke Shields, who died in 1989, and his many affairs, including a fling with Marilyn Monroe. Still, the Doc West of his hot chile—a compound, four-course son, by his count of 10 years, Carole Ankrum, 26—made it easier for him to turn back the clock. The tenth film also the "gratuitously" infectious gleehearts by the French comic, after playing an old man in the acclaimed 2000 movie *Just an Officer and a Gentleman* in the Spring, and to this year's *Places Far & Wide* opened in France and Quebec. For the future, Braeden dismisses suggestions that growing older will slow him down. He adds, "Only inheaters know the age of their arteries."

Monogram, *An Officer and a Gentleman*



Givens bruised and exhausted

PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFFREY M. COHEN

## SPORTS

## The big fourth down

Football is a small part of the Super Bowl!

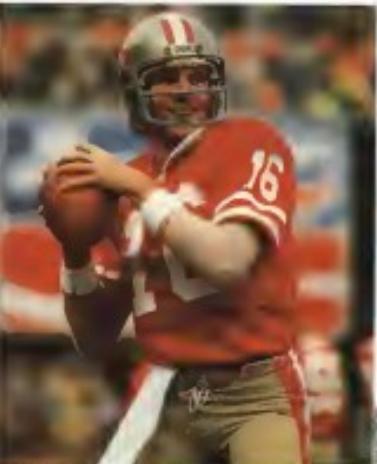
**T**he Super Bowl is burdened with so much cultural gravity that the National Football League has given it names moments. They arrived in 1971 when Kansas City Chiefs owner Lamar Hunt told NFL commissioners Pete Rozelle that the monikers would enable a tie to the past, and a bit of class and underscore the legitimate Roman carnival surrounding the games. The 1971 game became known as Super Bowl V—the first one that had been played in Los Angeles in 1967—and the entire game was renamed Super Bowl VI in Miami. That year, Super Bowl XXXII between the San Francisco 49ers and the Cincinnati Bengals was held on Jan. 25 in midtown's Joe Robbie Stadium. Played two days after the inauguration of president-elect George Bush, it will completely dwarf the Washington occasion, at least as far as television viewership is concerned. Indeed, the Super Bowl may be the most-watched event in the world, with NBC Sports forecasting that 54 million TV-equipped households—or about 130 million individual fans—will tune in.

Most Los Angeles-area media and sports bars last week predicted that the 49ers will win. Robert Grigoriak, editor-in-chief for the *Financial Post*, said that Americans bet more on the Super Bowl than on any other sports event. More than \$80 million is expected to be bet legally, and legal betting—legal, uninsured bets—is offically projected to be around \$22 billion.

The Bengals reached the Super Bowl by winning the National Football Conference championship 35-3 over the Chicago Bears in a rematch from Walsh 16 years ago, when he will likely step down, as well. Both men credit their teams in similar ways: The Bengals led the league in total offense, the 49ers in total defense. Number three has a surprising record—the 49ers are 13 and six and the Bengals 14 and four—but at least some insist that game, the 49ers' Bill Walsh, a tough, 67-year-old veteran, says that he may return after the Super Bowl. And the Bengals' Sam Wyche, who got his first big break in coaching from Walsh 16 years ago, says he will likely step down, as well. Both men credit their teams in similar ways: The Bengals led the league in total offense, the 49ers in total defense. Number three has a surprising record—the 49ers are 13 and six and the Bengals 14 and four—but at least some insist

that the American media are hating Super Bowl as the turns of the decade. San Francisco has won three other Super Bowls, Chicago, twice. On Jan. 24, 1982, they met in Super Bowl XVI when the 49ers won 26-3.

But the second matinee provides a whole new pliny of rivalries and personalities. For one thing, the coaches may be handling their



Braeden: a quiet quarterback resounding from a drumming session

major reason for the team's favored status. The quarterbacks are a study in contrast: The 49ers' Steve Young just might be the Terry Bradshaw who led his team to victories in 1975, 1976, 1979 and 1986, as the only quarterback to win more than two Super Bowls. The 30-year-old Montana has rebounded from a frustrating season during which he was benched twice. Now sports commentators are calling him one of the greatest quarterbacks ever. He still does cut fit the typically embossed quarterback mold and is going quietly into the big game. Said Montana, "This is what we do." The Bengals' Boomer Esiason, the NFL's Most Valuable Player, in a big, broad left-handed throw rarely without an option on the game—or his own performance. After beating the Bills, he declared, "The Super Bowl, I love it. It will give me a chance to show off my controversial self."

The annual game, however, has become almost secondary to the television broadcast that surrounds it. The 14,500 game telecasts are selling for between \$100 and \$125 each, with Miami police predicting three-month jail terms to anyone found selling tickets outside the stadium. Meanwhile, NBC-TV, which reportedly sold \$17 million for exclusive rights, has sold out its advertising spots for the game. All costs have jumped by \$2,500 a second since 1984 and now cost \$675,000 for a 30-second spot. As always, there is a general air of hubris. The broadcast rights, called the Big Board, are estimated with a cost of 1,000. This year, about 12 million will be invested to create a new 3-D technique TV viewer can experience by using revised white cardboard eye-glasses with tinted lenses, which Dac-O-Glo Co. is distributing with purchases of Diet Coke at supermarket stores. It will be the first time the 3-D effect, designed by Terry Bowd, for his Los Angeles-based company Nuplex Associates Inc., has been made feasible enough for use on live television—without distorting the picture for those not wearing the glasses.

In a further tribute to the Super Bowl, Compton Mayor Charles Lukens has temporarily renamed Main Street on the city's west side. It will be Super Bowl street after the game. Sad Louis? "I don't think any self-respecting Comptonian will want to drive on a street bearing the name of the San Francisco quarterback." The game was still more than a week away, but the hype had already locked off.

WILLIAM LOWTREE is in Washington

## CHARGES DROPPED

A U.S. federal judge dismissed the two criminal charges against former White House Office Director Andrew J. Marshall, saying that evidence he had lied to congressional Peacetime Review Institute, that he had lied to the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, and that he had lied to the House Select Committee on Intelligence, was insufficient to sustain the charges.

## KILLINGS IN LEBANON

At least 40 people were killed in fierce fighting last week as pro-Syrian Amal fighters tried to drive the Baathist-backed Michel-Antoine front out of south Lebanon. The two militia groups are fighting for control of Lebanon's 1.3 million Shias.

## VETO AT THE UN

The United States, Britain and France, in a rare triple veto, blocked a U.N. Security Council resolution that depicted the shooting down of two Libyan A-3s by U.S. fighter planes over the Mediterranean and called on Washington to expand government controls on the Libya's 1.3 million Shias.

## COOLING ETHNIC FEUDS

The Soviet Parliament announced it would establish a special form of administration for the disputed region of Nagorno-Karabakh, but would leave it under the Republic of Armenia. The compromise was clearly an effort to end ethnic clashes over Armenia by the neighboring Armenian Republic to annex the region.

## DRUGS IN THE SKIES

A British Midland Boeing 737 en route from London to Berlin crashed in central England, killing all of the 138 people on board. The engine caught fire and most passengers are awaiting whether the accident engine—which appears to have failed—was caused by a false instrument reading.

## A NEW ERA IN JAPAN

Seventeen Japanese men killed themselves out of despair to the late Emperor Hirohito in the week following his death. Meanwhile, in new Emperor Akihito, 55, inaugurated his reign the Nihon Index soared 465 points to hit a record high when stock markets reopened after closing for a day of mourning.

## EARTHQUAKE HOAX

The father of a man who claimed that he had felt others had been rescued from the ruins of a building in Lenasia 25 days after Soviet America's earthquake made up the story to get the best medical help for his moribund patient, the government newspaper *Izvestia* said.



Shultz addressing Paris conference focusing world attention on the dangerous proliferation of chemical weapons

## WORLD

# A POISONOUS THREAT

## REPRESENTATIVES OF 149 NATIONS ARE DETERMINED TO ELIMINATE STOCKPILES OF CHEMICAL ARMS

Some were lying in a state of stupor, the skin discolored like slate, some were sitting up gasping for breath with hands and faces of a deep dusky hue, evidently in the greatest distress, over the countenances of others, we could guess of death ever beginning to come. ... They were the first war cases from Spain and Italy—except those from the First World War diary of Canadian army doctor William Boyd.

**W**hen Boyd recorded those observations April 23, 1915, the chemical warfare was in its infancy. Just six days earlier, the German army had launched the first effective chemical attack at the history of war by lobbing 16,000 canisters of chlorine gas in French, British and Canadian troops defending trenches around the Belgian town of Ypres. The terrifying new weapon—which by the end of the war had killed 180,000 soldiers on both sides and injured 1.7 million more—produced a

stupor and use of all chemical weapons."

The conference succeeded in focusing world attention on the spread of chemical weapons, which have been acquired by at least eight countries in the past 10 years and were used extensively in the Iran-Iraq war. It gave the Soviet Union an opportunity to score a public relations triumph by declaring that it intends to start destroying its stocks of chemical arms this year. In addition, the meeting provided much-needed political momentum to take that have been dragging on for 20 years in Geneva to a comprehensive treaty against the proliferation of poison gases. Canada's ambassador to the Geneva armaments talks, de Montigny, concluded that the Paris conference was a "high-dough agreement of international" and the concluding negotiations.

At the same time, the conference underscored the major obstacles to concluding a worldwide ban on chemical arms. Most Third World countries, especially Arab states, al-

lone and mustard gases against their own Kurdish populations in the towns of Halabja, killing as many as 5,000 people.

Meanwhile, most nations have acquired chemical weapons. As recently as the late 1950s, only the United States, the Soviet Union and France had no stocks available. But according to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, that number has grown to at least 13—and U.S. officials accuse Libya's leader Muammar Gadhafi of seeking to acquire chemical arms for use against Israel—or to supply terrorists.

Last week, Gadhafi again denied that charge and called on the new administration of George Bush to "keep this stupid and silly policy." But Gadhafi did not allow Western journalists to inspect the controversial factory at Raka, 86 kilometers west of Tripoli, which he boasted is a facilities pharmaceutical plant located in a barren oasis on the 7, Libya authorities

said about 200 foreign reporters to within 500 m of the plant—a dark grey building in an industrial park protected by anti-aircraft missile batteries—and then promptly ordered them out of the country. The western media speculated that the Libyans did indeed have something to hide.

Attempts to negotiate a chemical arms treaty took on new importance with the breakdown of a long-standing ban on their use. Agitated by the use of gas in the First World War, in 1925 leading nations signed a protocol in Geneva banning the use—but not the production—of chemical weapons. That agreement was violated by both Germany in 1935, which used poison gas against Ethiopia in 1935, and Japan, which used it in China between 1937 and 1945. More recently, Iraq exploded chemical weapons in its war with Iran. And in a particularly horrifying incident

in 1988, the Iraqi used a combination of toxic gas on the technology and key ingredients. The chemical industry, by contrast, is dispersed throughout the existing economy, making it difficult to identify—and thus combat—such weapons and their delivery systems.

In addition, chemicals with legitimate nonmilitary purposes may, in combination with other ingredients, be used to make deadly weapons. And a plant built to produce explosive fertilizers or drugs may be adapted to make



Suspect plant at Rabta: charges that Libya plans to make chemical weapons

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poses 100,000, then switched back at short notice. For this reason, U.S. officials rejected Libya's offer of a complete inspection of its Libya plant. Instead, they insisted, frequent visits by experts—with as little as 24-hour notice—are the only way to ensure that a factory is not secretly making poison gas. Said one American chemical warfare expert in Paris last week: "Without those elements, no one is going to have the confidence that that place is not producing chemical weapons."

Such timing problems have produced a dilemma for advanced countries trying to stop the spread of chemical arms. In Paris last week, External Affairs Minister Joe Clark defended Canada's policy of no use, production or stockpiling of such weapons. But Abbie Donin, Extraterritorial's deputy director of nuclear solutions in Ottawa, said that controlling the export of aggregates and technology for chemical weapons is extremely difficult. "You monitor and interview with every export that can remotely be connected to something that can be used," she said. "Or do you try to control the most dangerous exports?" At the same time, Donin said that a few Canadian engineers are believed to be helping Iraq build a chemical fertilizer plant 100 km north of Baghdad. But the firm employing them is American, not Canadian.

"There is nothing we can do about it," said Donin. "We can control exports from our country, but not individuals."

Canada has taken one step by helping to form the 29-nation Australia Group, which has

agreed to place export controls on some chemicals that are known to be key ingredients of toxic weapons. Canada has invited 16 additional states to review leases from Ottawa before chemical companies can ship them out of the country. But if an effective treaty is worked out, the chemical industry may have to accept other, more intrusive controls, including export inspections. Still, Nicholas Seven, an authority on chemical weapons at the London School of Economics, "A global treaty for chemical disarmament will require international verification on a scale never before attempted."

While tensions between developed countries and Third World nations dominate last week's conference, anxiety between the superpowers also continues. Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze announced that his country intends to start destroying its chemical weapons this year—two years before a comprehensive treaty is signed. He said that the Soviets are holding a plan to destroy their stock of chemical arms, which NATO officials estimate at about 300,000 tons.

The announcement drew U.S. officials on

the defensive. They pointed out that Washington already is destroying old stocks of chemical weapons. But the Americans' position was weakened by the fact that the U.S. Army remained producer of chemical arms until 1987—after an 18-year bid—to replace destroying stockpiles. And it was further undermined by the defense budget—unveiled last week by President Ronald Reagan—which proposed sharp increases in spending on bombs and artillery shells designed to deliver the new generation of so-called baneful chemical weapons. Their content of two chemicals that are harmless to themselves, but are deadly when combined in explosive.

Washington plans down a route from chief Soviet arms negotiator Victor Korov: "I don't consider that reasonable restraint," he declared. Concorded Lynn Hansen, assistant director of the U.S. Arms Control Agency. "I know how it looks that our primary concern is that we protect our security."

The United States was caught last week at an awkward diplomatic juncture with one of its closest allies. West Germany. U.S. officials had told American newspapers that five German companies helped Libya build its plant at Rataha. But U.S. officials emerged carrying, insisting that the Americans had not produced any evidence. But last week, the West German government announced new controls on exports of technology and equipment useful in arms production. And a Bonn spokesman later acknowledged that there was, after all, evidence linking West German firms to the Libyan plants. The same day, however, an Anthony announced the arrival of Belgian shipping agent in charge of arranging to remove a West German shipment of suspect chemicals destined for Libya by giving their destination in Hong Kong.

Bon's embarrassing admission underscored another obstacle to effective control of chemicals: there is money to be made in helping to produce the poisons. Experts say that without effective sanctions against both the countries that make toxic weapons and the companies that aid them, there will be little progress. Julian Perry Robinson, an expert on chemical warfare at the University of Sussex in Britain, noted that many of the same nations that condemned Iraq for using poison gas refuse to do business once the fighting stopped. He added: "There have to be sanctions against transgressors, or no treaty would be effective."

For the arms negotiators in Geneva, that will just be one of many obstacles on the way to finding an effective antidote to the spreading threat to peace.

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ANDREW PHILLIPS is Paris with  
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# THE NEW LOOK

**THE ERA OF GEORGE BUSH PROMISED TO BE ONE OF PRAGMATISM, NOT RIGID IDEOLOGY**

**A**long Washington's Constitution Avenue, the sold-out who have descended to this place, awaiting the 74th-annual Republican big-spectator who have bought seats for this year's most grand political pageant—complete with a *casual* bark from George Bush's insurance agent, crackling pop corn. At \$6,000 per person flooded into the capital for the five-day, \$30-million bash to inaugurate the 41st president of the United States, the city's traffic police had been liaisoned, grizzled and hunched off-duty members of several law enforcement agencies, including the FBI, the Secret Service, the DEA, the FBI, the ATF and 10 federal Marshals' batoniers, coordinated with the west-perspective's press corps. Not only is this year's inauguration filled in the longer and longer chain-in history, it is also the most expensive. Tickets to an exclusive black-tie dinner at Union Station cost \$1,400 a plate. And because the balanced budget steering country singer LeAnn Rimes and the Monroe County Choir carried a price tag of \$300,000—1,000 times more than the top price for the distinctive, unbroken Jimmy Carter cake off.

**Establishment.** But the steep cost has led to dangerous entanglements. So covered was admission to the Texas State Society's sold-out "Black Tie and Boots Ball" that an anonymous invitation-wearer needed a Houston billboard advertisement to offer \$10,000 for a pair of \$80 tickets. And when organizers sought corporations to pick up the management bill with \$15,000 interest-free "loans," they were swamped with offers. However, the organization's congressional watchdog group, Common Cause, has criticized the arrangement as "no way to start a new administration." Says Ann McFadden, the organization's senior vice-president: "This clearly provides a way for corporations to give large sums of money to carry favor." Still, it may prove a telling point of the Bush cause. According to Republican political consultant Keila Phillips, Ronald Reagan



"a friend of ours, but not the *Senate* 100. Bush respects the Establishment, old money and Big Business," he added. "The administration will be a combination of country club gentleman—the likes of the Los Angeles, San Francisco and Chamber of Commerce—predictable, capable and unscrupulous."

that view frequently presented in more rationalizing terms, has been the overriding one ever since Bush's victory last Nov. 8 with a 40-state win—leg, though, from Ronald Reagan before him, with no clear agenda or ideology. In fact, many political analysts foresee the same kind of political gridlock that plagued Congress during the 1980s.

But Bush's conciliatory tone and cautious approach

four years under Bush—barring my major policy errors—as a part time of besieged staff and organization, compounded by the constraining reality of projected \$180-billion budget deficit; Sen Stephen Byrd, a presidential adviser with Washington's Brookings Institution. "What is the defining principle George Bush has to work around in 1989? Is he that man?" says Rep. John R. Kasich, R-Ohio.

But Rep. George H.W. Bush has been a lightning rod with the media. Black Bush, who endorsed the White House press corps for allowing itself to be manipulated by Reagan's handlers in his book, *On Record*, says that American reporters already appear to be recording Bush the same indulgently. "The press is not really raising the difficult questions."

In part, Bush's approach of

**Revolving:** The deficit may make it difficult for Bush to fulfill many of his campaign pledges, including his vow to never again negotiate a budget deal without a balanced one. And he's been at odds with a Democratic Congress, which has four years of deadlock and stalemate. So if presidential scholar James Breslin, one of the Bush biographers, "he may be operating under such constraints that there's not much he can accomplish," then, those limitations could provide Bush some breathing room as his energies to foreign affairs and the like are a changed world order that is largely the result of the peace offensive of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and Reagan's willingness to embrace it. "I'm Brezhnev's ghost," one political scientist, "but I'm also the last vestige of the old system." He would really be like a kid in a candy store. George Campbell, a Canadian professor of politics at Simon Fraser University, says that, in fact, "he may be the last people of his era who is interested in politics." He's right when he says it's a "battlement of Camelot"; he's right only in a longer, percher package. The last few months have been strenuous, belated, though, so Bush's post mortem of the past two months and his voluntary departure from Congress and immunity

**Differences.** In his cabinet, he has made a point of leaving one black and two Hispanics (page 242). And when, after completing the team by naming retired Gen. James A. Thurman as energy secretary and state-tycoon Charles E. Gandy as education secretary, Wilson Begett was his favorite, Bush urged his colleagues to follow him: change had a Republican advisory panel to oversee names of advanced technology's estimated 50,000 personnel, reflecting "American-style" values. "We know...our party has been too little to include in the past."

Still, the chief distinguishing feature of Bush's cabinet will be that it has chosen people who are in his own camp, if not of them including Secretary of State James Baker, Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady and Commerce Secretary Robert曼纳彻, a Texas oil executive, are longtime personal friends, trained pragmatists who share his pragmatic views and moreover he has chosen them. Another new face here, seasoned veterans of the Washington press game.

and foreign authors in the field should be invited to contribute to the Governmental Bulletin as a supplement to the *Journal of International Law*.

## **THE DEFICIT MAY MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR BUSH TO FULFIL HIS PLEDGES**

pigment; we expect pupae in the White House."

For the fishing trip, Bush's third since the November election, also demonstrated the reason that the White House media corps has spent time studying the first posts of deck-blanketed racing boats. Not since the Kennedy clan converted a rough-and-tumble touch football game into an *Americana* provided such an enthusiasm with sports. Waters days of using the chance, Bush flew to the Florida beachfront estate of millionaire horse-breeder William Farish for a bonhomie wheel of fishing, snorkeling, scuba diving and rappelling.

**Revenge:** Since then, he has also ridden in Arkansas and Florida and gone gun-baiting in Fenn's South Texas ranch. And he has engaged senior George Plimpton's horseback rodeo competition in Sperry, Oklahoma. Plimpton reported that Bush won by shooting the spar of revenge he felt after losing last year's lone encounter "Revengeous Iowa," the president-elect claimed, having his lead ranger to victory. Said one

"It's not a franchise. It's the Whole World of Sports."

**Regular:** Bush has said that hunting and fishing have made him sensitive to environmental concerns. But Bush's enthusiasm for sports may partly reflect his determination to establish an image as a regular guy. To that end, he once challenged a New York Times reporter to check his bedroom clock radio to see that she could see that it was set to a country music station. But he sales says that it is his upper-class New England roots, not his Texas roots, that will provide the key qualities of his presidency.

It is from the patrician northeast that George Herbert Walker Bush, known to his family as "Poppy," sprung. His father, President, who died in 1972, was an investment

the same fraternity house and turned admission to the exclusive, prestigious and secret Still and Bass Society.

Bush has acknowledged that he was tormented by his sterilization: "I feel terribly sorry." And some amateur psychologists say that he has spent most of his 64 years trying to please his father and a succession of subsequent fathers figures, from former Vice President Nelson to George. But watching Present Bush doesn't encourage us to draw conclusions about his sexual history or his sense of sexual responsibility, which has been the engine of his success.



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wealthy Connecticut home town. From there, Bob's academic itinerary proceeded on a typical Ivy League route, via Phillips Academy, called Andover in honor of the Massachusetts town where it is situated, then to his father's alma mater, Yale, where he was a member of

A close-up photograph showing a person's right arm and shoulder. The person is wearing a light-colored, short-sleeved button-down shirt. A white digital wristwatch is visible on their right wrist. The background is slightly blurred, suggesting an outdoor setting.

In his political career, will keep this propensity. Already, he has tried to manage that propensity by paying tribute to private sector entrepreneurs "without peers of light." Said George Bush, a former undersecretary of state in the Reagan administration: "He approaches things from an authoritarian point of view—the sense of obligation, no-nonsense obligations. And that's a very worrisome quality in American political life, [as Franklin Delano] Roosevelt came from."

**Review:** That same month of date informed Bush's biographer after he volunteered to become the youngest pilot in the navy at 18. On Sept. 2, 1944, when he realized that a Japanese plane had scored a hit on his carrier *Saratoga*, enabling the cockpit in black smoke, his first thought was that he had to find his own torpedo plane, hitting an enemy radio station. It was only after

Forward that he bailed out, missing a Disorganized Flying Circus.  
From his mother, Dorothy,

she at 17 still waits on an exclusive Florida beach and continues on the family compound in Kaanapali, Maui. "Kau learned two qualities that were to color his vice-presidency: loyalty and the value of our serving under presidents. She demands her children to bring about their accomplishments," says Bush.

**Whitie Bush:** Bush's mother continues to exert such a powerful influence on his life that the young man who, as president of the Senate, he was poised to break a vote for Social Security expansion, has abandoned her worth. But he summoned Stogran to call her and apologize. In fact, after Bush returned from the tour to memory-han college sweethearts, Barbara, and graduate from Yale, they decided to move to Texas in part to escape his family's ever-expanding influence. Bush likes to emphasize those packing his sidetables. George Jr., now a 42-year-old oilman, is the

For more than 10 years, Tom Koenig and Steve Lasker and their team have been working to make his fortune. But he first worked selling mining equipment for a company that had his father as its board. And two years later, his uncle owned the \$500,000 that kick-started him in his own oil exploration

Still, as a gay apartment—sharing a bath-  
room with a prostitute—on the Bowery,  
in the下流的 Tenderloin district of New  
York, he was exposed to his lover's  
lovers of Dildam. Both  
had been in his cage  
and Again, there, too, he  
became acquainted with per-  
sonal tragedy. In 1965, even-  
ing, the bright, the Bush's three-year-  
old daughter Robin  
developed leukemia and,  
despite, they wanted key  
woman women over the  
next eight months. When  
she died, Bertha Bush  
was so broken with guilt  
that she had to leave New  
York through "He held me  
in his arms a lot," she said.  
Let me wrap every and not  
say no more to people."

**Barbara Bush** is now seriously protective of her husband. What she feared over the media portrayal of her husband as cold and unapproachable last

er, she took to the road with her personal show. Among her soap-suds, half a dozen sellers cheering over a sleepy-eyed man in whom they call "Stringy" Avi-Larry Salsita, a University of Virginia professor, passed out, just as the friendly man that Reuben only

George Jr., Jeb, 35, a former Florida state insurance secretary, and Neil, a Colorado businessman, have political ambitions themselves. They have prompted speculation about a Bush political dynasty, similar to the Kennedys. But it's a week. Bush said flatly that they would not find jobs in his administration.

Friends say that Bush's own lifelong dream of the White House appeared helplessly out of reach only four years ago. After losing himself ridiculed for his soaring swaggering during his 1984 campaign against Democratic vice-presidential nominee Geraldine Ferraro, he pledged with an uncharacteristic depression and talked of dropping out of politics. But Baker, the friend whom Bush had once distrusted from regarding his wife's liaison with a political junkie, rallied him by selecting the tonic plan that carried Bush to the White

**Bounding:** Now that he stands on the threshold of his dreams, he faces daunting challenges. Faced to reduce the budget deficit and committed not to raise taxes, he will also have to manage a \$125-billion reduction of the crumbling aerospace and defense industry and a \$95-billion reorganization of the nation's deteriorating nuclear weapons plants. But Bush also faces a time of unprecedented uncertainty, as he begins the

ected to be. Asked Sakata: "The Braga Lecture was dumb, but the reality was hardly this a mess?" In contrast, Bush's daughter, Dorothy LeBlond, calls him "the most enterprising human I know." And those of us who,



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# A FAVORITE 'GRANDMOTHER'

**BARBARA BUSH LEAVES THE SHADOWS**

**S**he wears her trademark three strands of \$115 filigree pearls, she says, to hide the wrinkles in her neck. And she refused to dye her white curls even since a hairdresser's application of Fabuloso Perm had started peeling off her scalp in burns, resulting along an overblown plane ride. Besides, she says, people who write too much about their hair are boring. She calls herself "everybody's grandmother," but her conversation can be witty and blunt, spiced with such expletives as "hell, no." And she likes to put a crowd at ease by chronicling her public misdeeds. One occurred at a rally in San Antonio, Tex., during last year's presidential campaign when she heard a photographer shouting, "What's that lady in the red dress please get out of the picture?" Barbara Bush quickly retorted: "My God, it's me!"

**Rebutting:** That was the Successor America's First Lady this week, though may have trouble adding new confidence to her self-sacrificing reputation. Stepping out in her husband's shoes—Nancy Reagan's shadow at least, the 63-year-old mother of five and grandmother of 16 is about to become one of the most envied women in the world. Already, social workers are lauding her老太太-style as the harbinger of a refreshing new era that could liberate American women from the tyranny of dieting, sex-life, and high fashion.

Gone is Nancy Reagan's California glitz; her borrowed designer dresses and lace sprayed blithely, characterized by hyperbole as an "aerial of raw beauty"—if one could cover it, it gets due. "With Barbara Bush taste informs the refine of blue-blood Yankee aristocracy—and when New York City marketing consultant Ruth Popcorn calls the "Elegant Globe" look, "Women have always been struggling with how to look younger as they get older," she's saying. "Don't bother," said Popcorn. "What's wrong with looking 60 instead of looking like an inverse 13-year-old?"

Bush has been understanding the part of First Lady for the past eight years. White enthusiasts are predicting that her "White House will be short on pomp and protocol, long on genuine informality, an honest and candid bather with the toys and trinkets of the 12-member Bush family. In fact, Bush is already forming one result of the Bush Wing. Bush quartered a playroom for her granddaughters, although she has declared that none of the new

babies, then six repetitions in planks, "Barb" as he called her, found her easier in their four sons—George Jr., Jeb, Neil and Marvin—and daughter, Dorothy. Bush says that she has attained "more little-league games than any living human," and it was she who served as family spokesman—the Refresher, as son Neil nicknamed her. That tough role only reinforces public when she serves as a stern mother-in-law: in October 1984, she called her husband's vice-presidential opponent George H.W. Bush "\$14 billion—I can't say it, but it rhymes with risk."

**Entrapped:** Her social consciousness emerged in the summer of 1986 when she drove three of her children from Texas to Mexico, accompanied by two black babysitters. When hotels in the South refused to admit rooms to the black women, Bush was so outraged that she rallied them to change their minds or walk out. Said Della Taylor, one of the two women: "She didn't go anywhere we couldn't go." In that spirit of racial equality, Bush is expected to name Anna Ferrara, a black former

she allowed at state dinners.

For Bush, the White House will be her 20th address in 44 years of a perspective marriage to "the first man I ever loved." They met at a Conservative Christian party where Barbara was 25, the daughter of the publisher of McCall's magazine, Marvin Prentiss, and a president of the Atlantic New York City suburb of



**Bush: isn't-askers predict the return of Kenneke blue-blood aristocracy**

Ron. She was on vacation from the exclusive Ashley Hall boarding school in Charleston, S.C. George Bush, a strong 17-year-old senior from Phillips Academy in Andover, Mass., relied on his mother to introduce him to the laughing blonde as a red and green dress. He could not guess, but she thought he was so wonderful, that she recalls, "I could hardly breathe." They were engaged before he went off to war in 1943, flying a torpedo bomber nicknamed with her name.

**Tough:** When he came home a hero, after being shot down, she dropped off at Smith College to marry her at 18. Her only job had been at a hardware store one summer. But her husband made his fortune in the Texas oil

congressional aisle, as her press secretary.

Her pet cause, Marcy, is likely to become trendy now, but her own career dates back 25 years to the time when doctors diagnosed her as Neil as having dysplasia, a learning disability. And the president-elect's son credit her with convincing her husband to invest in interest in education and the homeless. Her methods of getting his attention were, like Barbara Bush herself, straightforward and original: On the campaign trail, she made the next president of the United States sleep a single bed of hotel soap with her so that she could snuggle the square bars for a homeless shelter.

MARCI MCDONALD / Washington

# AN AMBITIOUS NEW TEAM

## BUSH CHOOSES A SLATE OF VETERANS

In his presidential campaign, George Bush vowed to bring new faces and wholesale change to his administration. But he has, in fact, chosen mostly tested veterans noted for their knowledge of Bush's cognos and their political pragmatism. Among the most prominent nominees:

**James Baker:** As secretary of state, Baker could prove to be among the most influential cabinet members in modern times, exerting influence over a wide range of foreign and domestic policies. A 58-year-old Texas lawyer who was a close of Bush's closest friends, Baker served as Reagan's chief of staff and then secretary of the treasury until he resigned last August to run the Bush election campaign. At the state department, he is expected to seek more international economic cooperation from his predecessors. And as a chief proponent of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, Baker will likely pursue warm relations with Ottawa.

**John Sununu:** As a chief of staff, Sununu, 48, is likely to be strong-willed and staunchly conservative. His appointment was regarded as a concession to right-wing Republicans. He served three terms as governor of New Hampshire and was one of the central supporters of both of those elections. Sununu's greatest confirmation headache, however, was his opposition to abortion rights. Sununu, who is of Lebanese descent, was the only one of 50 state governors who refused to sign a congressional or a 1973 U.S. resolution equating abortion with murder.

**John Tower:** Bush delayed his choice of the new secretary of defense for a month while the we checked stories about Tower's prodded drinking and carousing and investigated what some critics considered his too-early contacts with the defense industry. Tower, 63, will now have to provide even cuts in defense programs—expected to total several hundred million dollars—as Bush moves to reduce the federal budget deficit.

**Elizabeth Dole:** The naming of Secretary of Labor seemed partly a gesture to her husband. State secretary leads Robert Dole of Kansas, who fought a vicious campaign against Bush for the Republican presidential nomination. Elizabeth Dole, 53, served as secretary of transportation from 1981 to 1987. Her expressed goals as labor secretary include providing child care for working mothers and increasing the minimum wage.

**Jack Kemp:** The designated secretary of housing and urban development is Bush's most conservative cabinet choice. But the neo-conservative congressman from Buffalo, N.Y.—who had also



**Tower: facing cuts in defense**



**Baker: warmer in Ottawa**



**Dole: to provide child care**



**Kemp: the most conservative**

labeled Bush for the presidential nomination—has a reputation as a capable insider. Kemp, 53, a former professional football quarterback, is expected to move away from subsidies for low-income housing and to support programs that allow public housing residents to purchase their apartments.

**Dr. Louis Sullivan:** The only black to be named so far, Sullivan encountered controversy before Bush selected him as secretary of health and human services. Sullivan, 55, president of the Morehouse School of Medicine in Atlanta, was quoted in December as saying that women should be free to have abortions—protecting patients from right-to-life groups. Since then, he has said that he supports the Bush view that access to abortion should be severely limited.

**Lt.-Gen. Brent Scowcroft:** The nominee for national security adviser is a seasoned Washington insider. He held the same job in the Gerald Ford White House and served on the panel that Reagan appointed to investigate the Iran-contra affair. But Scowcroft, 63, has taken positions sharply at odds with the Reagan administration. Most notable was his criticism toward the Strategic Defense Initiative, or Star Wars. He is expected to keep a low profile, leaving the foreign policymaking to Bush.

**Carla Hills:** As trade representative, Hills will be in charge of implementing the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. Critics point out that Hills, 55, a lawyer who served as secretary of housing and urban development under Ford, has little track record in trade, and some of them question her ability to function effectively after serving as a lobbyist for farming interests in the past. She replaces Clayton Yeutter, who played a leading role in negotiating the FTA and has been named Bush's new agriculture secretary.

**William Ruckelshaus and Manuel Lujan:** Bush clearly intended to take a balance between conservation and industry concerns when he chose Ruckelshaus as administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency on the same day that he named Lujan secretary of the interior. Ruckelshaus, 48, president of both the Conservation Foundation and the World Wildlife Fund, favors tough government action to reduce oil imports. Lujan, 60, the only Republican House member in the House during the 20 years he represented New Mexico, is regarded as a friend of industry for consistently voted for development over conservation.



**Malroney with Bush in Washington: personal rapport and strong bilateral ties**

## FORGING NEW RELATIONS

### BUSH'S CANADIAN CONNECTIONS

**H**elicopters clattered overhead, and fragrant coniferous waters below. It was June, 1986, and Vice-President George Bush, on his way to pay an official call on Expo '86 in Vancouver, was taking a dip out for lunch in Victoria Bay off the coast of British Columbia. Among his party were U.S. and Canadian officials, including the transport minister, Don Macdonald, and their wives. 15 people bobbing together in two 20-foot Fiberglas boats. Bush caught the biggest fish, a 26-lb. spring salmon, and pronounced himself "delighted." But there was also time for the eagles to discuss such

substantive issues as software, fisheries and steel—and for one Canadian official to note a sharp contrast between Bush and Prime Minister Ronald Reagan. "The man I impressed most," said the official, "was the Bush. He didn't mind a cup of coffee. He could discuss more than just economic issues and put just a few pieces." As Bush prepared to leave, the members of the press corps this week, officials in Ottawa were already hoping that the mild American federalism would continue to pay dividends in Washington—but the two men developed a personal rapport.

An agreed attempt to reassure Ottawa, Bush told reporters at the White House last

week that he intended to renew the annual U.S.-Canadian summit established in 1982 in Regina and Prince Albert. "We're not going to take for granted our neighbour to the north," he declared. Canadian officials have been furiously trying to arrange an early meeting between Bush and Mulroney—probably before the new president attends the funeral of Japanese Emperor Hirohito on Feb. 24. But U.S. sources suggested that Bush's first priorities east to Ottawa might not come quite that early.

**Pressing:** In any case, Canada-U.S. relations will likely need a quick test to get genuine democratic results in each country. From the March Link accord and the subsequent free-trade deal between Canada and the United States to the federal budget deficit in the United States. "The question," said Charles Dorey, director of Canadian studies at Washington, D.C.'s School of Advanced International Studies, "is whether the domestic agenda on both sides will so capture their attention that they cannot keep up the momentum of strategy on the bilateral agenda." Of course, as a senior Sherman International put it, "it is always a problem to keep ourselves on the front burner of American attention."

Addressing the National Press Club in Washington last month, Senator George Mitchell acknowledged that the "independent" American might in Canada last November was not the 54% newly acquired freedom for his northern neighbor after "years of neglect." Rather, he said, the outcome of the Canadian election, with the Canadian-U.S. Free Trade Agreement hanging as the balance, struck at the heart of relations with the United States. But with the election over and the FTA safely passed, he said, Canada would be "erased from the media map."

In addition, despite the mutual trumpeting of strengthened bilateral ties, analysis in both countries worried of a burgeoning trade dispute over everything from the definition of steel to the use of lead in playgrounds. And while Bush is expected to be more sympathetic than Reagan to Canadian plans to take action against oil imports, analysts say that any measure would be proportionate to the new president's need to cut federal spending.

**Calmness:** Still, they failed to dampen the enthusiasm of Canadian officials, who preferred to highlight Bush's long-standing ties to Canada. In fact, Bush had even come back with former Liberal prime minister Pierre Trudeau in 1983 over the controversial Strategic Defense Initiative, or Star Wars. But it was not until June, 1986—after Bush had Mulroney during his Expo tour to call him if he needed a sympathetic ear in Washington—that the two men developed a personal rapport.

Their offer of help ultimately led to an agree-

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## COVER

more over the use of the North West Passage, under which Washington agreed to request port control from Ottawa before sending U.S. seafarers into Canadian-owned waters. As well, Bush went on to lead the fight within the administration to arrange \$3 billion in funding promised for an acid rain study. Note to senior Canadian diplomats: "It showed that we have a guy in Washington who is prepared to listen to the merits of our case."

**Pollutants:** Bush's willingness to listen has earned at least cautious optimism among members of Canada's wet rain lobby. With a friendly cleaning Lake Erie glistening in the sun behind him, Bush—who has proclaimed himself an "environmentalist"—pledged during

art clearly committed to fighting acid rain. John Somers, the former governor of New Hampshire who is Bush's new chief of staff, and George Mitchell of Maine, the new Senate majority leader.

Many U.S. analysts, however, are less convinced that Bush will act on acid rain at least within the first year of his administration. Colin Campbell, a professor of government at Washington, D.C.'s Georgetown University, said that the new administration would be severely hampered by the cropping federal budget deficit. "There is not time to focus much attention on acid rain," Campbell said. "It is a pledge of convenience if ever I saw one."

To no surprise climate activists, Bush

deeply held protectionism remains strong. Canadian analysts estimate that, in an attempt to test the new system, are likely to review the new protocols that will rebuff disputes Michael Abu, director of economic studies at the Council on Foreign Relations, produced a plan that would stage in the implementation of the FTA. "The next couple of years may look like there are more tensions because both nations have got such high expectations," he said. "We have to learn to live with the FTA—and we see not used to having our balance carried."

Already, the U.S. government and American industry have a long list of old complaints ranging from Ontario's protective price markup on U.S. wines to the flood of Canadian exports of timber and parks.

In fact, last week, the American park industry asked its government to impose a countervailing duty on Canadian parks. Bill Grossman, director two weeks ago that it would seek a countervailing through FTA panels of two less-festive imports. Canadians refused to approve low-grade U.S. plywood because of its many large knotholes and differences in how the two countries measure the amount of wood in garments for tariff purposes. Delays closed Doris. "You are seeing where the issue is pitting industries on both sides of the border."

**Exports:** These disputes are minor irritants as an otherwise strong trading relationship, but the FTA will likely always produce points of friction. "We will likely always produce points of friction," said Artur Wajcberg, of the Toronto-based Canadian Coalition on Acid Rain. "It is whether we will have legislation to take enough pollutants out of the air over our two countries."

**Stalemate:** Talks between the two sides over setting a clear timetable for specific reduction levels of sulphur dioxide levels down from one and a half tons started. Wajcberg says that Canadian pressure since mid-1988 forced American negotiators to a cleanup program—estimated at \$5 billion—because "they have problems and they know it." She added that another proposal for environmentalists is the political commitment of two native New Englanders who

would likely have to propose a funding formula that will spread the cost of the cleanup program among the different regions of the country—and then over the remaining agreement stages a few months—until October.

"The question is not whether we will have and man-enacted legislation," said Artur Wajcberg of the Toronto-based Canadian Coalition on Acid Rain. "It is whether we will have legislation to take enough pollutants out of the air over our two countries."

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ment of two native New Englanders who would likely have to propose a funding formula that will spread the cost of the cleanup program among the different regions of the country—and then over the remaining agreement stages a few months—until October.

Analysts struck a similar note of caution over the newly minted Free Trade Agreement. American observers say that the FTA, which took effect on Jan. 1, brought Canada internationalists as a major trading and commercial partner. But they add that it also stirred

Crossing the U.S.-Canada border at Lansdowne, N.Y., warning of a barrage of truck disputes



PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFFREY R. COOPER

the state of Canada's relations will likely emerge from the first meeting between Bush and Mulroney later this month. Both sides also want to resolve the互相 border taxes a year between the two countries if and when the U.S. Congress passes its own version of the Canadian Environmental Protection Act. "It's a very important step forward," says Minister Joe Clark. As a leading fan of Canadian media in Washington last summer, Clark noted that Reagan had given Canada "giant strides." "In this country, no competitor for aerospace, and I think that Reagan has given Canada a recognition of the importance of Canada to the United States." As Bush joins office this week, Canadian officials will strive to continue to maintain interaction—and respect—as the official committee of Washington.

HILARY MACKENZIE • Washington

# A GLIMPSE OF GREATER PEACE

## BUSH INHERITS A BETTER WORLD

**C**old traps began to pull in Argentina as Bush kept to terms negotiated in Moscow for the first time in 20 years. And after more than two years of negotiations, 35 Eastern, Western and neutral nations finally agreed on a wide-ranging program to endear respect for human rights. In most and minor ways, last week's developments reflected a world growing daily more inclined to talk than to fight, to lead common ground than to perpetuate old grievances. To be sure, all was not smooth sailing. The Soviets, clearly vexed by the failure of their assassins to the Afghan guerrillas, threatened to postpone their final withdrawal from Afghanistan. At the UN, Western nations clashed with Communist and掌管ed countries over the U.S. navy's downing of two Libyan MiG-23s in the Mediterranean. And the destruction of Pan American Flight 103 was a reminder that international terrorism is a constant threat. But overall, the world that George Bush will leave on Jan. 20 is far less menacing than the one that President Ronald Reagan confronted when he took office eight years ago.

**Pessimism.** Reagan's inheritance was one of sharp superpower confrontation, containing the frightening possibility of nuclear war and a string of seemingly intractable regional conflicts. Now, with an 18-month cease-fire in the Middle East and heading toward détente—with U.S.-Soviet relations so improved that some communists claim the Cold War is over—global pollution has become a more urgent threat than nuclear holocaust. For the improved overall situation, international leaders had a widely creditable Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, of whom few in the West had even heard in January 1985. The more steadfast anti-Communist Reagan has earned his share of plaudits, too, if only for being pragmatic enough to respond positively to Gorbachev's initiatives. As a result, Bush will begin his presidency in a world in which pragmatism,

not only has made Gorbachev popular internationally but has diverted attention elsewhere from the failure of his peaceful, free-market policies to improve the material lot of the Soviet people.

The Soviets, meanwhile, express mixed but generally positive feelings about the incoming Bush administration. In a recent Moscow interview, Sergei Tikhonov of Moscow's Institute of US and Canadian Studies called its emergence "an important but uncertain" one. He added, "Bush and his people are largely pragmatists but they are not men of new ideas, and new ideas are precisely what is needed."

**Skepticism.** Still, there are ample signs that the superpower relationship will continue to improve. At the same time, key regional issues continue to move, however fitfully, toward a solution. In the most intractable, the Middle East conflict, snap elections confirm that the US decision last month to send Israel contacts with the PLO following chairman Yasser Arafat's recognition of Israel and renunciation of terrorism, at least open up new possibilities for peace. The (initially) skeptical in the lame-ducked West Bank and Gaza is continuing unchanged, while the Israeli government insists that it will never talk to the PLO and never permit an independent Palestinian state. But there are signs of a slow shift in Israeli public opinion. According to a poll in the Tel Aviv daily *Yediot Ahronot*, 54 per cent of Israeli Jews respondents in favor of talking to the PLO—up from 27 per cent in a similar poll taken before the intifada began a year ago.

However, under last month's coalition agreement between the right-wing Likud bloc and centrist-left Labor Party, Arafat's alliance is the hands of the hard-line Likud town of Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Foreign Minister Moshe Arens and his deputy, Shimon Peres. Labor's relatively dovish former foreign minister, Shimon Peres, has been sidelined to the finance ministry. Consequently, it is the Likud trio with which the Bush administration will have to deal if it tries to persuade Israel to talk to the PLO.



Gorbachev (second from left) with Reagan and Bush; Botha (below) settling differences

start directly or at an international peace conference.

Shamir is working on the details of a new peace proposal but he still appears adamantly opposed to an international conference involving the Soviets. Still, continuing improvements in relations between the Soviet Union and Israel could modify his position. A Soviet decision to resume full diplomatic relations with Israel—which Moscow severed in 1972—would be essential, and, ideally, things are moving in that direction. Soviet representatives to the World Health Organization in Geneva and Israel allowed the former to post a temporary liaison team in Moscow.

As well, the Kremlin allowed 18,465 Soviet

delegates to participate last year—in up from 8,725 in 1987—and for the first time invited Israeli representatives to attend. The Soviets also urged Israel to recognize Israel's right to exist and supported moderate elements in the PLO while arranging a truce in Syria. Their chief client in the region and Israel's main regional enemy. And last week, the Kremlin allowed the Moscow Tel Aviv basketball team to play in Moscow, the first time since 1967 that an Israeli team has been invited to the Soviet Union. The Israeli team was 97-92.

The Israeli government,

meanwhile, has earned the gratitude of the Kremlin by returning the hijackers of a Soviet plane last month and sending a relief team to the scene of the Armenian earthquake. The warming of relations arises from Gorbatchev's desire to defeat the Middle East front bands that he can concentrate on urgent domestic issues. Still, says Earth Frontline, director of Tel Aviv University's Maycock Centre for Soviet Relations, "The Soviets will make sure that nobody else can have peace without them." She adds, "If there could be a joint Soviet-American settlement, they would be very interested."

**Botha.** But however despite the改善的 became involved, ever the wordy devious Botha is watching to see if the PLO's decision to disband its military wing, And an apparent Botha by Arafat to the life of a moderate Palestinian politician has made it even more difficult to build confidence. Just before Christmas, Botha's son Mayor Elias Freij inaugurated a 12-month suspension of the assault in return for the renunciation of political prisoners and an end to expulsion and detention without trial. On Jan. 2, the PLO issued a warning in Arafat's name that any Palestinian leader who proposes an end to the military's response himself to the

bitterness of his own people." The next day, Pinochete withdrew his proposal. Clearly, Botha has a long way to go before any Israeli government will accept him as a negotiating partner.

There are more dramatic signs of progress in southern Africa, another major regional trouble spot. In Angola, the first of 50,000 Cuban troops—who have been supporting the Marxist government against South African-backed guerrillas of the Unita for the Tanzanian independence of Angolan since 1975—left last week. The withdrawal was part of a truce agreement signed just before Christmas by South African president F.W. de Klerk and Cuban and Angolan leaders on the other. In return for the removal of Cuba's forces the South Africans agreed to pull out of Namibia, which is scheduled to hold elections in November leading to independence.

**Diplomacy.** The accord cleared eight years of tribal insurgency by the Angolan communists. It was also a product of South Africa's half-deified actions in Angola and its need to buy a Western base on investment and exports relations with its black neighbors.

In the last six months of 1988, South Africa's President P.W. Botha met the presidents of Malawi, Zaire, Mozambique and the Ivory Coast. Representatives of more radical African régimes are reported to have met privately with South African officials that Botha's diplomacy, and its willingness to withdraw from Namibia, did not address the principal reason for his worldwide inequality—the denial of political rights to its overwhelming black majority and a repressive, paternalistic state of mind and Cuban diplomats in Pretoria. Botha's diplomatic advances could bring stability to the region, but what is needed is an idealized representation.

In China, Soviet-Chinese reconciliation remains largely on track. Still, Moscow has warned that it might not count the Pekin 15 classifier for a complete, though peaceful, front. Afghanistan because Mujahideen guerrillas still refuse to give up a government including members of the former Afghan regime. The Soviet general was one of Moscow's three precondition for a Sino-Soviet summit in the spring. The Soviets have already shifted the officers they have undertaken to reduce their forces along the border with China and they have pressured their Vietnamese allies to withdraw from Kampuchea this year.

**Saudi.** But as they wade closer to the Soviets, Chinese officials warn that Beijing's good relations with Washington will not offset Sino-American trade totalled over \$16 billion in 1988, compared with less than \$4 billion in Sino-Soviet trade, and these are 35,000 Chinese traders in America but only about 100 in the Soviet Union. "These would only be cause for concern," said a Western diplomat in Beij-

Israeli soldiers with Arab youths the most unpredictable conflict



## GORBACHEV HAS FORCED AMERICANS TO RESPOND TO HIS PEACE OFFENSIVE

ing. "If China and the Soviet Union renewed their pre-1969 politico-military alliance, and there's no sign of that," Dr. Isaac Chotiner said as Americans dozed. "What can you worry about? This will be our first summer with the Soviets in 20 years. You've had five decades."

Although Moscow moved closer to each other, Southeast Asia's regional conflict—or when a guerrilla rebellion has been fighting for 10 years—has one Vietnamese forces occupying Kampuchea—seemed near to resolution. "Peace will be at hand within the first six months of 1989," predicted Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach, after Hanoi unveiled a plan for a complete military withdrawal by September. But natural suspense among the three Kampuchean resistance groups remained. And there were indigoed fears of a post-withdrawal calamity by the strongest of the three groups—Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge, which massacred hundreds of thousands of civilians when it was in power from 1975 to 1979.

**Commentator:** In Central America, Gorbachev's energetic defiance for internationalism may well reduce regional tensions. A diminishing factor could be his widening strategized rift with Cuba's Fidel Castro, the old-style Communist leader who has become a firm supporter of leftist movements in the region and who was once Moscow's most aggressive critic. As American President Bush is prepared to consider efforts to try to revise the failed Reagan policy of using the contra rebels to bring down Nicaragua's Marxist Sandinista regime. And in El Salvador, Bush's immediate problem is more the Belshood of an electrical utility for Sandinista forces than a victory victory for the far left. In the March 19 presidential election, the candidate of the ultrareactionary National Republican Alliance is expected to defeat that of the moderate, US-backed Christian Democrats. Such a defeat would seriously set back U.S. plans to democratize El Salvador while helping it away from the right-wing guerrilla war.

Beyond regional conflicts, Bush will also face challenges of a different sort. In Western Europe, the 15 nations of the European Community (EC) have vowed full economic integration by 1992, seen as more efficient, peaceful and popular than Reagan's task office in 1984. The EC is increasingly inclined to

use Brussels' leadership has tried to consolidate its political and economic goods of consumer goods. Neighboring Russia has the worst human rights record of any Eastern Bloc country.

**Columnist:** On the other hand, the Polish government has been acting toward recognition of Solidarity, the banned trade union movement, in a courageous hope of winning U.S. aid for its crippled economy. Meanwhile, across the Soviet Union, Communist Yugoslavia is shifting toward capitalism. Its government—unable to cope with 250-per-cent inflation, corruption scandals and a 10% annual foreign debt—negotiated last month, while its May 1st conference was convulsed by a labor turnout.

Meanwhile, the European members of the EU seem to be divided over how to respond to

the Vienna test Treaty, the 35-nation Confer-



Soviet troops retreat from Afghanistan threatening to postpone their final withdrawal

Gorbachev's peace offensive. As the threat of Soviet aggression recedes, those countries most aggressively supporting huge bases in defense. At the same time, the Bush administration is likely to come under congressional pressure to make the Europeans pay a heavier share for their own security. That could weaken NATO's base in Germany and reduce plans to upgrade its short-range nuclear arsenal.

**Commentator:** In Eastern Europe, the Soviet Bloc countries are all reacting differently to Gorbachev's liberalizing policies. Many leaders are delaying any changes and they find that Gorbatchev's peace offensive will help them do so. Only Hungary has moved closer to Western-style democracy with last week's announcement that opposition political parties would be tolerated. The Czechoslovak and East German regimes have resisted change steadfastly. The East Germans have the Soviet magazine *Sputnik*'s "progressive," in the words of an official statement. The aging and repre-

ative or Security and Co-operation in Europe previously agreed on a "widespread package" of human rights guarantees. They are designed to ensure freedom of religion, information and travel, and need Czechoslovakia's chief delegate, Václav Klaus, are "surprised and more easily amenable" than the Helsinki human rights agreement of 1975. It was neither surprising nor unusual that George Bush will face on Jan. 20 in less than two weeks than that of eight years ago. But if less menacing, it is also more complex. With Gorbachev's peace offensive Marring the last of East-West confrontation, Bush and his foreign policy advisers will need the vision and flexibility to help define a new—and more permanently peaceful—world.

**JOHN HARRIS** is a  
WILLIAM LOWTHROP is in Washington.  
ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH is in Moscow.  
ERIC SALTER is in Jerusalem.  
CHRIS ERASMUS is in Cape Town and  
Peter reuter

## MEDIA WATCH



# Substance versus fabricated fury

BY GEORGE BAIN

**T**he Halifax Chronicle-Herald's six headlines on Dec. 25 and "Refugees again present." A three-column sidebar below said: "Mass deportations will follow—inevitably." The same day, at the other end of the country, the editor of the *Vancouver Sun* wrote his own story—with banner: "Refugee plan knocked." In Calgary, the editors of the *Herald* reduced the story to one related solely to refugee dissenters in Calgary, under the heading "Refugees fear hell's cleanup."

What is most clear is that the treatment given this national story in these newspapers is an oddity because it commonplace. It is the sobering of news as previously seen in the same columns—McDonald had spoken in Toronto only after press time the day before—the reaction to it. As a result, the introduction to the Chronicle-Herald's readers had to McDonald's plan was that they were "panicked" and would produce mass deportations. "Nothing matches the prediction of mass deportations to 'certain,'" The Canadian Press may under. The Chronicle-Herald's heading announced it with only one word: "Toronto refugees fear hell's cleanup." The *Sun* added: "Every day they ask me, 'What is going to happen?' It's a very long road, and every one of them is scared."

The Calgary Sun story, having reported under a soft byline—Alice Boon, art writer, and the Canadian Press—the "news" of Calgary's 1,100 refugee claimants here, concluded with a plan to move mass deportations to torture and punishment. The *Sun* story quoted only one other person, the chairman of a church refugee group, who said, "There is great potential for this issue now in the new year."

Still, the Chronicle-Herald was no more awry in its headline over an agency story than the *Vancouver Sun* was in its lead-over a story by staff reporter Kevin Griffin and Doug Ward. In a statement contrary to the headline, "Refugees plan knock," their lead paragraph read much differently. "The federal government's intention to provide refugee claimants with a case-by-case review has received widespread vindication." Four of five pressmen quoted were interviewed

and who said, although not within quotation marks, that his household had been tortured. That indirect quote was the closest the story came to supporting the assertion that many feared "deportation to torture and pain or death." The substance of McDonald's plan was depicted in eight separate sentences.

If we except that the news was—a government policy to deal with a recognized national problem—those stories were what need to be called follow-up. But, as is increasingly the case, they were taken-down-to-as which the news itself was rendered incoherent, buried under the reaction. Because of that, the newspapers, of which the three cited are only examples, rarely acknowledged the mistakes in an on-going series of information that they were presenting to assure their readers would have got first from radio and television. As the newspaper's advantage of speed gave them over the broadcast media in dealing with the breaking news, few mistakes in the coverage of the refugee crisis continue to exist, as papers do this adhesion to error, as papers do this adherence to being permanent on a sort of hot-to-the-electronics line.

What is also wrong with the growing practice of treating news of public policy simply as a vehicle to deliver the reaction of unmet groups to it is that it fosters negativity—in which are put the stories out, but those in *The Toronto Star*, *The Globe and Mail* on that same day, Dec. 29. Those newspapers reported much fully what the minister had said and had led with the government's failure to decline an amnesty ("No amnesty for 180,000 refugees,"—the Star). "No amnesty for refugee claimants/thousands face deportation"—the *Globe*. In fact, the prospect of an amnesty seems mostly in media speculation and had no previous coverage well down the morning. As Carol Goar, the Star's Ottawa columnist, said on page 10, as contrast to the shock-headline found on page 1: "It should have come as no surprise to anyone, especially that McDonald ruled out a New Year's amnesty." It was a tough, uncompromising stand, one very much in character.

There is no argument here against the place of follow-up, or reaction, stories in journalism. Still, no one who knows journalists could pretend that reaction stories aren't most often caused to order by seeking out people whose reactions are predictable—and who may not be easily discredited. (Perhaps, if Canada's immigration policies had not been in a muddle for years, there would not be so many immigration lawyers and so-called immigration consultants to connect negatively or attempt to make it more straightforward.) But that is also foolish. It is not good journalism, it is not fair to everybody, very few truly feel the essentially benevolent need of radio and television, they know perfectly special-interest revision to dominate—to the point of obscuring what it is supposed to be in response to. It is not good journalism, either, because it creates frightened communities of people who will look to print for the substance—as distinct from the fabricated fury—of life around them to wonder if they are in the wrong church.



Mounds of trash at a Toronto dump  
Forcible at the disposal business

## BUSINESS

# PROFITING FROM WASTE

**S**tatistics show that Canadians are among the most waste-producing people on earth. On average, they generate one ton of refuse per capita annually. The problem of waste disposal is almost as major urban centres across the country. But there is a more serious issue as in Mississauga, Toronto, and four surrounding municipalities. Indeed, the problem of the area's 2.7 million residents represents a potentially dark future for the rest of Canada. Landfill sites in Mississauga and the regional municipalities around it are nearly full, and not a single new dump is currently being developed. Because the municipal politicians have

**FAILING TO FIND AN ANSWER, THE GOVERNMENT TURNS TO BUSINESS TO DISPOSE OF THE WASTE PROBLEM**

been unable to solve the difficulty, Ontario's environment ministry is now seeking private-sector solutions. So far, the ministry has received dozens of proposals from companies who former a financial windfall in garbage. San Nagel Gailford, president of Burlington Ont.-based Laclede Waste Systems Ltd., "The potential is almost limitless."

The conservatively potential of garbage disposal has soared over the past year because of sharp increases in the municipal municipal tipping fees, which are paid against waste from businesses and industries. Last May, Toronto's fees jumped to \$80 per ton from \$15 per ton. Next month, Mississauga is expected to approve another increase to \$125 per ton. The municipalities contend that fee increases will force business and industry to reduce their garbage disposal, which would save space in the landfill sites. At the same time, the environmentalists are trying to encourage traditional recycling and are desperately searching for new trash sites.

However, the private sector has developed a number of plans to solve the garbage disposal problem—and to earn billions of dollars in the process. For one, Canadian National Railways Ltd. of Montreal wants to haul the region's garbage to gigantic compost sites; other firms propose to empty it into incinerator furnaces, burn it to produce energy and even turn it into lignite that can be used in fireplaces.

It already spends nearly \$3 billion annually shipping 90,000 tons of lösable garbage to incinerators in Niagara Falls, N.Y., because its dump is almost full.

Within Metro Toronto and its four surrounding regional municipalities, Laclede is one of only two private companies with landfill proposals before the provincial government. Gailford said that the company wants to expand its service stamp it over in Durham Region, 40 km south, which would add another 100,000 tons of waste. After holding public meetings to explain the plan, company officials hope to tap into their rates by year end before a provincial environmental review that will rule on both a zoning change and environmental issues.

If the company succeeds, the landfill could produce valuable revenues based on tipping fees of \$85 a ton and a capacity of eight million tons. Laclede states to earn \$600 million from the operation. Indeed, demand is so great that Gailford said, "If there were a permitted site in the region, people would be beating down our door to sign contracts to use it."

The potential bonanza from garbage has also

attracted Toronto businessman Stephen Mandel, who gained widespread attention in October by paying \$125 million for the real estate assets of the Charlotte, N.C.-based PTL Ministries, which was once controlled by disgraced televangelist Jim and Tammy Bakker.

In the spring of 1984, Mandel quickly paid \$3 million for a privately owned 50-acre waste site at Innisfil Township, with a population of 3,538, 70 km east of Toronto. David Reddy, operations manager of Merrick's Spike Maple Leaf Co. Ltd., says that another Minneapolis-based company is negotiating with a Swiss concern that turns kitchen wastes into沼气 for biogas, but Reddy was unable to say when the plan would be ready.

Because local governments are politically unpopular, governments and the private sector are now searching for innovative alternatives. MacLean's has learned that a consortium led by London and major shareholder, Montreal-based CFC Ltd., is developing plans to build a large incineration plant somewhere near Toronto. Garbage would be hauled by truck to a central transfer point and loaded onto railcars for shipment to a plant. The garbage would be separated for processing, and nonrecyclable material, including concrete and asphalt, would end up as landfill sites. Provincial government officials have endorsed at the "Guided Horizons Megaproject," based on an reported says and Gailford and consortium lawyer Howard Fink devised to detail their plan.

Another innovative proposal is being developed jointly by Canadian Natural and environmental engineer Stephen Jones of Waterloo, Ont. Jones, who first designed the system, calls

it the Jones Process, which is short for New Options Regarding Waste. He says that he wants to build a plant in southern Ontario to recycle glass, metal, paper, wood and other products that can be reused. Any biodegradable waste would be loaded on railcars and shipped to designated areas in Southern Ontario to be used as compost. Jones pointed out that his plant would produce hundreds of thousands of tonnes of land in the northern region. He added that trees and other types of vegetation could be planted over the landfills if they were first covered by compost from biological and/or mineral wastes.

Gailford, who claims that he has located more than 30 potential sites that meet his basic criterion of being within a 10-kilometre trip from Toronto, said, "Jones' is a completely new approach to dealing with waste."

And a permanent solution can be found. Mississauga is still attempting to stretch out the life of its current garbage dump by reducing the amount of waste received. McFie-racker said that the ambitious target is a one-



Gailford unique approach

**MONA PUSHES ON**  
Calgary-based Nova Corp. will spend at least \$1 billion over the next few years to expand its natural gas pipeline and gas processing units in Alberta. Nova said last week that the company is already advancing its operations to meet growing requirements from Alberta gas producers for greater gas transportation facilities.

### A ROSE FORECAST

The Canadian economy will continue to grow in 1986, according to the Conference Board of Canada. The board predicted that Canada's gross domestic product will expand by three per cent in 1986 and by 3.7 per cent in 1989.

### MASSIVE TAKEOVER PLANS

Prospective bidders for General Electric Co. Inc. of Britain need to agree on a consortium that would purchase the London-based manufacturing giant. With an estimated market value of \$11.7 billion, a bid for GE would be the largest takeover ever attempted in Britain. Meanwhile, Fairfield, Conn.-based General Electric Co. one of the nation's rival bidders, said it had a \$45-million expansion of its engine-blade plant in Bremerton, Wash.

### CLAMPING DOWN

Alberta and Quebec are considering legislation to regulate financial planners, who provide financial consulting services to individuals. Quebec planners would be required to pass an examination and to disclose all links with financial groups. The issue is also under study in Ontario and British Columbia.

### RIVALS FOR TEXACO

Members involved last week that Imperial Oil Ltd. will purchase control of Toronto-based Texaco Canada Inc., the Canadian subsidiary of Texaco Inc. of White Plains, N.Y. At the same time, Bank of Montreal and provincial bank Royal Bank of Montreal announced that it had submitted an offer to purchase Texaco Canada Inc., Canada's third-largest oil company.

### A LIFEDOM QUIT

Ronald Goldfarb, 44, resigned after five years as United States attorney for the southern district of New York City. Goldfarb became famous for relentlessly pursuing huge insider-trading scandals on Wall Street.

### BROKER LAHOPS

Vancouver-based securities dealer Peterbov Houston Wilshire Bell Gossack Inc. had laid off 60 workers because of mounting losses.

third collection in annual volume by the end of 1990. In recent years, the amount of refuse produced had been growing by about eight per cent annually. But with the sharp cut in tipping fees last year, the flow of garbage slowed and actually reversed, averaging between 1987 and 1988, said McKeon.

In October, a three-member prominent tribunal recommended that Montreal-based Inc. Group, an engineering and construction company, be allowed to manage incinerator waste facility at the tip of Pier 100. President manager Alexander Ross said that \$30-million plant would be built in the fall of 1990. Brampton Inc. would receive about 480 tons of garbage a day. Workers remove metal and other non-combustible materials and the remaining paper, plastic and combustible waste would be fed into furnaces of 1,000°C. The heat would be used to produce steam, which would drive a turbine generator.

Ross said that the facility would be able to generate enough electricity to light 5,000 houses. Electricity would be sold to Ontario Hydro, but the main source of revenue would be from tipping fees charged to the management of Peel for dumping its garbage. Ross estimated that the fees will likely range from \$40 per ton to \$50 per ton. "A few years ago, that would have been ridiculous," he said. "But the cost of handling is rising astronomically. That's what makes energy from waste attractive."

One way to avoid creating new dams may be to create old gravel pits and limestone quarries in floodfill sites. A consortium called Renaissance Quarries Inc. has proposed use of the largest quarry project. The consortium wants to lease 175 acres of a washed-out limestone quarry from Brampton, One-time United Aggregates Ltd. is said to be a partner. The quarry averages 70 feet deep and could accommodate 30 million cubic yards of gravel over 10 years. John and Walter Gossman, president of Montreal-based Concorde Resources Ltd., an environmental consulting company and managing partner of the consortium, said the project could go before a provincial environmental tribunal by early 1990.

After years of unsuccessful attempts to develop new landfill sites, most government and private-sector experts dismiss doubt that the municipality can solve their garbage problem inundated over the next couple of years. Leslie's Goldfarb said that with a cooperative effort among the provinces, the municipalities and the private sector, alternative methods of disposal could be developed and operating within five years. But Goldfarb said that the Ontario government will have to provide firm guidelines and rules for private-sector operators because of the major investments required. And the province must act by the end of this year, said Goldfarb. The result could be a ban on waste based on garbage for private waste-management companies—and the rest of a nightmare problem for the municipalities.

DARCY JENKINS with ROBERT EUGENE and JULIE CALLEN in Toronto



*Royal Bank money traders: a new way to bring international business to Canada*

## A tale of three cities

*The battle over tax havens with new legislation*

**O**n year after Federal Finance Minister Michael Wilson's controversial international banking centre legislation passed, making Vancouver and Montreal, but not Toronto international banking tax havens, the Pacific city is finally living up to the moniker. Last week, the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce branch was given approval to offer international financial services in Vancouver. That service includes taking deposits and issuing loans, and profits on the business will earn a large tax break. But Vancouver's advantage, generated only envy in Quebec and Quebec in Montreal, Canada's other banking tax haven, officials are questioning why a large and important bank like the CIBC did not simultaneously apply for tax-exempt status in their city. And Vancouver Mayor Arthur Eggleton says that the legislation unfairly discriminates against his city, who angry. Shaming him on a press conference table in his City Hall office, he declared: "This legislation is absolutely absurd in an age when banking is becoming a true global. I can't give up."

Vancouver's international financial centres, and smaller centres at Mississauga, will be the subject of intense scrutiny in the next few months. Government and industry critics have criticized Ontario and the province's tax legislation, which will force a 50-per-cent combined federal and provincial tax on specific offshore profits generated by banks and trust companies in the two cities. When Wilson introduced the

legislation, it met with strong opposition, and more analysis and fact that became Toronto—Canada's main banking centre—was left out. The legislation would fail to do business away from such celebrated tax havens as the Cayman Islands. New officials at some of the Canadian branches that are opening centres in Canada say that they applied without knowing whether they will himself qualify as the immediate future.

And bank executives say that even though offshore clients may look elsewhere in Vancouver, they will still develop and negotiate most of the details in Toronto's financial centres. As a result, analysts say that the international financial centres could become mere storefront operations, creating few new jobs in Mississauga and Vancouver. Said Eggleton: "If that is the case, then the federal government is more foolish than I thought."

Sprint institutions elected to open international centres in Vancouver rather than Mississauga because of its proximity to Asia clients. In addition to the CIBC, others opening in Vancouver this week include Royal Trusts Ltd., Bank of America Canada, European & Pacific Investment Management—an investment fund manager—and Norwest, Thornton-Davis Inc., a Toronto-based securities firm.

Others, but they will apply in Vancouver include the Royal Bank of Canada Bank of Montreal, Canadian Western Bank of Edmonton, Pacific International Securities Inc. and OnTec Standard Chartered Securities

Inc. Said Michael Goldfarb, chairman of the B.C. government's international financial centre program: "It is a perfect mix of companies. We are a financial centre that is more diversified, more tightly focused than a London, New York or Hong Kong. We are going to be a boutique."

Mississauga still leads. Vancouver, with 14 institutions already approved and operating international financial centres. They range from the Banque Nationale de Paris, the National Bank of Canada, two private Swiss banks, the Montreal-based securities firm of Griffiths Lester Inc. and an Edinburgh-based company, Dundee Fund Managers Canada Ltd. The centres in Vancouver and Mississauga pay up to a 38-per-cent tax on their profits, compared with the Cayman Islands, where they would operate nearly tax-free, and Hong Kong, where they face a 10-per-cent rate.

The openings in Montreal and Vancouver may have been prompted more by politics than by tax-free profits. According to one senior bank official, who asked that his name be withheld, senior bank officials say that it is prudent to take advantage of new legislation as a political relations gesture and to please provincial authorities. At the provincial level, some bank executives in Montreal expressed concern that if an uninvited



*Goldfarb: a small but powerful banking community*

sets up an international financial centre in our city and not the other, provincial and municipal authorities could consider their lucrative government sectors with them.

Bank executives also say that when a major bank like the CIBC opens an international branch, other banks are forced to follow. Al-

though the Toronto-Dominion Bank, the Bank of Nova Scotia, the Royal Bank of Canada and the Bank of Montreal have not yet filed applications to open centres, spokesmen at each of the banks say that they are considering the possibility and may soon announce their decisions.

As tax-free havens banks and other financial operations multiply, Eggleton is still waging a campaign to overturn the legislation. The City of Vancouver, using the federal government as a case based on the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which claims that the tax law discriminates on the basis of nationality. A lawyer for the city, Edie Saxon, said that the legislation was enacted partly for political purposes and that the federal government has a responsibility under憲法 to consider that section. Although Eggleton said that he is happy to see Montreal and Vancouver prosper, he added that Vancouver is choosing to become a determined backwater. But meanwhile, bankers in Vancouver and Montreal dispute that claim, saying that they are leading the way to a better financial future for Canada.

ANNE WALLACE and DALE QUIGLEY in Vancouver

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Paul Brooks



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# Canada's growing economic outreach

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

**F**oreign trade with the United States has become the Holy Grail of Canadian business, but the really smart operators are protecting their flanks by establishing significant outposts in Europe and the Pacific Basin—and no Canadian financial institution has moved overseas faster than Toronto's own Royal Trust.

Royal is the only Canadian trust company with European branches, and its Swiss banking subsidiary recently purchased the venerable Fribourg-based Banque. The 50-year-old firm only has \$120 million in assets, but it operates in "private banking," which means that its foreign offices are kept secret from government and tax authorities. "We'd never do so much banking confidentiality," Royal president and chief executive officer Michael Corneilleau said yesterday. "But it's a little-known fact that American banking secrecy laws are far more strict. We have been getting increasing requests from our Canadian clients for truly private banking accounts."

Corneilleau has been pushing his firm's foreign expansion since 1985, establishing branches in Tokyo, Hong Kong, Singapore, Amsterdam, Zurich, Geneva and Luxembourg, as well as expanding its previous business in London. His company raised \$1.3 billion in European money markets during 1988, and some of its senior debentures have just been listed on the Luxembourg stock exchange. The Royal Trust president says that by 1992, fully 40 percent of its corporate revenues will come from non-Canadian sources. And he has good reason to hope. "We are now represented in all the financial centers of the world except the United States," he said. "But we plan on overtaking that omission rather dramatically in the next two or three years."

Meanwhile, Corneilleau says that he is worried about some of the European Community regulations due to come into effect in 1992—particularly a rule allowing chartered banks to operate under "home country" rather than to control. That could mean that most interna-

the Brundtland-owed Royal Trust has grown into Canada's seventh-largest financial institution, with assets on its balance sheet and under administration now exceeding \$61 billion. At least part of that expansion has been based on his conviction that financial conglomerates must achieve the kind of scale efficiency that allows the economies of scale to be held, so that there can remain relatively low-cost providers of the services they provide. The danger of corporate concentration is lost if it becomes, and that is where Corneilleau's criticism of Canada's banks comes in.

Although he speaks like a hawk with such brio as "the size and the power of the banks is important for Canada because we need to have a strong financial system," the Royal Trust president does not approve of his chartered competitors. "The 50-per-cent ownership restriction on banks doesn't necessarily work in the interests of providing greater accountability to shareholders," he said. "I'd like to see stronger and much more independent boards—that is, directors unconnected financially with the bank on whose boards they sit."

More interestingly, Corneilleau is convinced that the Canadian banks' takeover of Bay Street's major financial houses constitutes a huge potential for conflicts of interest. "Just think of a situation where the securities company has raised \$100 million worth of equity and the bank doesn't buy it, with half of it left on the shelf," he said. "Now, at the same time, the bank has an investment management subsidiary that puts money out on a discretionary, voluntary basis for shareholders, and the collection will be to put some of that raised stock into their clients' portfolios. Also, the securities house never sits on the board of the securities of capital gains funds, so that clients are no longer placed in funds against a security dealers, or vice versa."

He is most upset about how readily Canada's banks have been financing leveraged buy-outs, especially after the lesson they should have learned from the Baan of Third World debt that turned out to be insatiable. "They all know the same basic opportunities, drive down the profit margins, pump more and more money into it, the next thing you know, they're going another crisis on their hands," he said. "I have a fundamental disagreement with the whole concept of leveraged buy-outs, because corporate shareholders who could very well manage accountable for their actions have been replaced by hordes of high-risk (high beta) bonds who have no votes. This also makes the companies much more susceptible to business decisions because they're holding a financial instrument dependent on alternative movements. It's an inherently trend, and I feel it's deteriorating that North American banks have been keen on financing [leveraged buy-outs] as such a grand scale."

"The trouble with big banks," Corneilleau lamented, "is that they tend to move like a herd of lemmings." Then he corrected himself: "No, that's not really true," he conceded. "They make lemmings look like independent thinkers."

## YOUTH

# A growing menace

## Violent skinheads are raising urban fears

**T**hey are easily recognizable, with their shaved heads, suspenders and steel-toed work boots. In Montreal, they frequent an east-end club called Les Poufous oranges. Vancouver's Greenway Street Mall is another hangout, while in Edmonton, the city's top skinhead clique hangs the neon hooks at Super Aviator's Bar. But rest assured, Canada's skinheads are not savages. Indeed, there may be fewer than 1,000 dedicated skinheads across the country. But because of the racist views that some hold and the menacing image that they project, the skinheads represent a serious concern on the margins of Canadian society. At the same time, skinheads in the United States, Europe and Britain—where the movement began two decades ago—are currently experiencing remarkable growth, fuelled by Jewish violence and anti-Americanism and neo-Nazi movements.

In Canada, some observers adopt skinhead fashion without accepting their beliefs. And even politically sober, educated Canadians skinheads have never avoided excess acts of violence. In Europe and the United States, skinhead groups have emitted a record of vandalism, assault and murder. Last October, in the northern French city of Lille, a 19-year-old skinhead was charged with murder after a young drug user was attacked while he sat on a public bench and beaten to death. The skinned killer later told police that his victim had "looked stupid." Later in 1987, two West German skinheads were sentenced to seven and 10-year prison terms in Hamburg for stabbing a Turkish immigrant worker to death.

There have been equally violent incidents in the United States. Late June, 16-year-old Dean Blackwell was sentenced to life imprisonment for beating and stabbing to death a 14-year-old black man in Tampa, Fla. In California's Santa Clara County, Michael Blood, 16, was convicted of manslaughter after he fatally stabbed another white youth who had taken a black man to a party last February. Late this

month, three youths headed south to调度 to trial in Portland, Ore., on charges of kidnapping to death 28-year-old Ethiopian-born Mulugeta Seraw. There are who argue that the number of skinheads is growing exponentially. According to police officials, newly formed skinhead groups have appeared in France, Belgium, Switzerland and the United States.

For other skinheads groups have developed links of varying strength with right-wing political parties. Some British skinheads have been sympathizing with the neo-Nazi British National Front. While some extreme right-wing political groups in France and Belgium have attempted to recruit skinheads to their cause, Jean-Marie Le Pen, leader of France's right-wing National Front, has shunned them.

Now some U.S. skinheads have begun to

*With free trade, the really smart operators are protecting their flanks by establishing new outposts in Europe and the Pacific Basin*

homophobes will opt for incorporated banks in Athens because Greece enjoys the best banking regulations.

Instead of trying to go head to head with the major chartered banks, Royal Trust chooses to concentrate on those specific areas, private banking (wealthy individuals who live globally and require investment diversification advice); asset management (mainly for pension or mutual funds); and specialized corporate finance services (partnering in equity capital for growth ventures with limited access to major-bank financing). "We can provide the latter because we have an in-depth between our senior managers and operating people," Corneilleau said, in comparison, he added. "These large banking banks, which may have huge bureaucracies to survive, can't be flexible enough to take risks for specific situations. It's a one-size-fits-all, highly profitable, and doesn't appear to us to Third World or leveraged buy-out risks."

Founded in 1896, Royal Trust operates a network of branches across Canada, through 18 offices, and at the key financial centres of Asia and Europe. It is also one of the few financial institutions worldwide holding a triple-A rating. Under Corneilleau's leadership,



Skinned demonstration in Atlanta signs that their numbers are growing worldwide.

Denmark and West Germany during the past year. In the United States, the New York City-based Anti-Defamation League, sponsored by the Jewish organization B'nai B'rith, reported last October that skinhead activity, which had been centred mainly in California, had spread to 21 states. The league added that "membership nationwide has grown to an estimated 2,800 from a total of 1,800 to 1,900" only one month earlier.

While such numbers are hardly a cause for alarm, the white supremacists ideology of many skinheads is far from the common theme underlying most cases of skinhead violence. Typically, Jason, a 16-year-old Vancouver skinhead who declined to give his full name, told MacLean's: "I just hate Poles, Hindus and Japs. They get jist. We're from Canada and

large class act with the extreme right. One important rallying point for American skinheads is Thomas Metzger, a middle-aged skinhead responsible for the southern California town of Fullerton where the Anti-Defamation League has described as "the most visible hate-society in the United States." A former member of both the right-wing John Birch Society and the racist Ku Klux Klan, Metzger is the self-proclaimed leader of a white supremacist organization called the White Aryan Resistance and claims to have 6,000 followers. Since 1985, Metzger has attracted a following of skinheads referring to them as his "franchise troops."

Metzger's main target is northeast immigration. "White people are on the way out unless they do something," he told MacLean's. "The

were creation is the biological version. They come here and have children and pass over. It's the same in Canada, which is allowing masses of people from the Third World into the country." His proposed solution is straightforward: "While working adults have legitimate right for their own self-defense," Veneczel has written for the *Epoch*, "Euro-Americans don't deserve violence; they get what they want."

Several analysts say that such a message can have a strong appeal to the kind of people who listen to Meister. Sheehan, according to most experts, are typically young, poor and alienated from mainstream society. Many are high school dropouts, and few have the ability to clearly articulate their concerns. One expert is Leonard Zeskind, research director for the Centre for Democratic Renewal, an Atlanta-based organization that monitors hate groups. Said Zeskind: "These kids are the first generation of white people to eat less butter than their parents."

Still, some scholars in Britain and the United States have begun to reject racists and right-wing skinheads. "The number of skinheads definitely on the increase," says George Marshall, editor of the Glasgow-based *Zoot* magazine, a skinhead periodical. "But the last thing we want to see are a bunch of Nazi Nazis running about and spoiling the fun." According to Marshall and other observers of the British counterculture scene, skinheads are becoming enthusiasts for a form of Jamaican music known as *ska*, a precursor of reggae. But Marshall: "You can't like black music and be a racist."

Although some Canadian scholars deplore racists' views, others are more interested in projecting a bright image than in pursuing a political cause. Paul Gott, editor of the monthly *Mosaic*, sees racism behind Roger Goulet: "Being a shabby old man means being a Nazi. It helps to reinforce the idea that racists are old and not cool and I stopped the book by people trying to prove racists aren't cool. That's a paradox," added Gott. "The problem is that there are now Nazi cool skins and it's being exaggerated."

So, other observers suspect that skinned racism may only be a symptom of a wider social problem: "The baseline Nazi fascist syndrome are way up about where they have," says Ian Cooke, who sings with PUL-PUPS, a Montreal band that's popular with skinheads. "But they are saying what a lot of people happen to be thinking. I think the extremists are the visible symptom of a disease in our society—a disease that is more rampant than a lot of people would like to admit." If there is any truth to that, then the failure of the skinhead movement to gain a significant following may be a sign of Canada's society's underlying health.

**BARRY CAMP** with **PETER LEWIS** in *Dissent*; **JEREMY MART** in *Leader*; **GARRETT ROLFE** in *Reverence*; **STEVEN O'FARRELL** in *Reverence*, **LEIGH OGILVY** in *Montreal*; **CLIVE ALLAN** in *Attack*; **ANDREW CRIGGIE** in *Los Angeles* and **LARRY BLACK** in *New York City*

## JUSTICE

# A race against time

### A new debate over Nazi collaborators

The past has come back to haunt two men for their activities during the Second World War. The first incident involved Vladimir Sokolov, 75, a former lecturer at Yale University in New Haven, Conn., who was stripped of his American citizenship in 1988 for allegedly assisting Nazi war criminals. Last week, immigration officials in Ottawa confirmed a report that he has initiated a claim for refugee status as a Canadian. At the same time, a hearing in Vancouver will determine whether Dutch born Jacob Luriega, 68—a former member of Hitler's Hitler Youth—

discovered the Russian language and literature professor's past in 1990, and Sokolov later reneged. Last July, he disappeared before a deportation hearing that had been scheduled in Hartford, Conn., and shortly after, CBC TV News reported that week, filed a refugee claim in Montreal. He is now in Montreal, and his case will be reviewed under the old immigration rules. If Sokolov is denied refugee status, he could be deported to the Soviet Union, where, according to his lawyer, John Grey, "he would likely put up [a] deathly grim [a] lengthy sentence."

Luriega, 68, is Sokolov's son, converted to Islam in Holland in 1948 in collaboration with the Nazis—should he be stripped of his Canadian citizenship? Luriega is accused of lying to immigration officials about his past when he entered the country in 1961. "We urge prompt action to agree these individuals," declared Jack Sherratt, executive director of the Canadian Jewish Congress. "Canada must not be used as a safe haven for Nazi collaborators."

Russian-born Sokolov left his American citizenship after a federal judge ruled in 1982 that when he entered the United States in 1951, he concealed his 1940-1944 collaboration with Nazi war criminals in Canada. And critics, including Lewis Carter, a law professor at Montreal's McGill University, say that the government must move quickly and investigate the 28 suspected war criminals whom Duschinski recommended urgent action. Not Carter: "Not only was my name mentioned to me, but I was approached by a large police force," Sokolov—who appealed the judge's ruling to the U.S. Supreme Court and lost—asserted that Nazi communists inserted the most efficient passage into his notes.

In 1987, Sokolov obtained his U.S. citizenship. But regretfully at the

time, he had no legal proceedings to file a complaint. Now, he is seeking a new hearing. In 1990, he was granted a new visa to the United States. A hearing date has been set for March 20—but 33 witnesses have identified Luriega as a member of the Leibstandart (Leib Guard), a Dutch group that assisted the Germans in the search for and arrest of Jews and Dutch citizens trying to avoid forced labor. The U.S. Department of Justice lawyer, Arnold Prank, described it, the "eyes, ears and feet of the Nazis."

Luriega's case is one of only two legal proceedings in the almost two years since Quebec Superior Court Justice Jean-Daniel Duschinski released his report on Nazi war criminals in Canada. And critics, including Lewis Carter, a law professor at Montreal's McGill University, say that the government must move quickly and investigate the 28 suspected war criminals whom Duschinski recommended urgent action. Not Carter: "Not only was my name mentioned to me, but I was approached by a large police force," Sokolov—who appealed the judge's ruling to the U.S. Supreme Court and lost—asserted that Nazi communists inserted the most efficient passage into his notes.

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Kline, Mastrostasio, Alan Rickman: *A crazy cap* meets the mayor's daughter

## FILMS

# Manhattan mayhem

### A new thriller abounds in eccentricity

**THE JANUARY MAN**  
Directed by Pat O'Connor

**T**he confrontation sounds inevitable: *The January Man* is based on an original script by New York City's John Patrick Shanley, who won an Oscar last year for *Mystic River*. It is produced by the writer of *Mystic River*, Canadian Norman Jewison, who assigned the directing duties to the award-winning Irish-born film-maker Pat O'Connor. *The January Man's* exceptional cast includes Kevin Kline, French Jeanne Tripplehorn, Dennis Hopper, Steven Seagal, re-embarking from last summer's baseball hit, *All the Way*, and Harvey Keitel, who played a tough-as-nails Indian in *The Last Temptation of Christ*. Mary Elizabeth Mastrantonio, who hosted *Ten Cents in the Usual* in *The Color of Money* (1986), contributes a touch of sunny acidity. And the cast is completed by two excellent character actors, Danny Aiello, the blithely faced Italian in *Mystic River*, and veteran Robert Duvall, who was in *Glory* for Jewison's *In the Heat of the Night* (1967). But despite such premium ingredients, *The January Man* fails short of its promise.

Shanley's script plays a testing game of hide-and-seek with crassness and conviction. Playing with comedy, mystery and romance, it reveals making a commitment to say them. The story starts with the murder of a young woman (Mastantonio) in Manhattan on New Year's Eve—the latest target of a serial killer who has strangled a new victim in each of the past 21 months. Although New York City's most notorious criminal mastermind of his era, the streetwise pimped-out life of his *Untouchables* days, has to attack a resistance chief with the city's gated residence, as public hysteria mounts, the movie's disgruntled identity person, the mayor (Kline), is literally swimming for cover. Apparently, the only person capable of cracking the case is a brilliant but eccentric cop named Nick (Kline), the embittered leader of the police commission, Frank (Kline), who is married to Nick's former love, Christine (Seagal). Under pressure from the mayor, Frank reluctantly reinstates his brother into the force. Nick, now happily working as a forensic scientist (the assignment—holy to whatever his romance with Christine). As Nick sets up camp at police headquarters, his anarchist mother (Hopper) gets the precinct captain (Aiello) to rig a trap for him. He moves in with a stereo system, a talking parrot and an ax-wielding axeman who beats the office as his hobby. Nick's unorthodox leads have led to the mayor's daughter, Beatrice (Mastrantonio), who was with the stranger's last victim on New Year's Eve. They write to take a lot of "private questions," Nick tells her, "because I want you to like me." Meanwhile, grueling by

in the returns to her Manhattan apartment on New Year's Eve—the latest target of a serial killer who has strangled a new victim in each of the past 21 months. Although New York City's most notorious criminal mastermind of his era, the streetwise pimped-out life of his *Untouchables* days,

*The January Man* is an artifact of New York City—although it was finally filmed in Toronto. Like Shanley's two previous movies, *Mystic River* and *Glory*, it deals with the strenuously preserved myth of life in America's largest city, from the romance of meeting in Central Park to the stoicism of a serial killer. Shanley, a native New Yorker, dispels the sort of bottomless affection for Manhattan that Woody Allen infuses in his work. And the movie's people-like my officials, looking for scapegoats and solutions to dole out vindictive punishments, create Tim Weller's acidic novel of *Manhattan* and New York City Mayor as Moonies.

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However, *The January Man* tries to be clever. Detective O'Connor never seems to get a firm grip on Shanley's self-consciously cryptic tale. True, she the characters seem like maddened savages to show off the writer's dexterity. Shanley has quickly acquired a reputation for eccentricity, boasting that no one can rewrite his work, he has defied industry standards and created a unique place for himself in the Hollywood sun. But *The January Man's* script cuts out for a little picciano tempering. After the triumph of *Mystic River*, the screen's hottest new writer seems to be suffering from a touch of snobbery.

BRUCE D. JOHNSON



Sokolov (above); Lafferty; concealed activities

**NORA UNDERWOOD** with **DIGBY WOLSTENHOLME** in *Reverence*

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*The Ottawa Canal, J.A. McLean photo of day*

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## THEATRE

# Sentimental journey

A play recalls days of Canadian innocence

### YESTERDAY

By JoAnna McCallum Glass  
Directed by Eric Sloane

**F**or most of her 25-year career, playwright JoAnna McCallum Glass has been explaining Canadians to Americans. Born in Canada in 1938 but a resident of the United States for the past 30 years, Glass has written a number of successful

well-acted off-off-Broadway plays, particularly of more serious, if less popular, nature. In them she displays genuine humor at times, in an sentimental or even operatic setting, to old records.

The play is set in the mythical Saskatchewan town of Ragnold. The year is 1948, and the place is the back room of Howard's Hardware, with its clutter of pitchforks, pottery knick-knacks and used cars. The room is also the home of David McTavish (R. H. Thompson), a 45-year-old

The Gathering is in full swing when a telecast arrives announcing that David has won \$10,000 in the Irish sweepstakes. He decides to stop paying taxes, but his citizens subdue him to despair when he realizes that there is nothing in particular he wants to do. Then lighting strikes a second time. McTavish returns to Ragnold after a 15-year absence. She, too, has been paying, but her plans to rescue David from poverty and squalor are upset by the news of his good fortune. Vested, she tells him, "I counted on finding you poor."

McTavish eventually lets David earn less, but announces that she will marry him only if he does something contrite. She suggests that when David decides to run for town council, McTavish agrees to become his wife, and they set out to buy the largest house in town. It just happens to be the local whorehouse, run by an aging madame called Emma (played with hawkeyed aplomb by Charlene Keeler).

Unfortunately, their attempts to buy the brothel have little relation to either themes, and Yesterday's main out-of-drama success. And the script's cliché-ridden struggle to portray the deeper connection between David and McTavish is family entertainment. But the acting is first-rate. Thompson manages to shorthand himself as the maniac confidante of his role and create the illusion of substance. With his slight hunch and growling intonations, he is the very image of the curmudgeon, naive Canadian of another era. Yesterday may tell Canadians much about who they are, but it occasionally has something worthwhile to say about where they come from.

JOHN PENROSE

### Ottawa-Hull Winter Events

Winter Olympics  
Feb. 3-18

The outdoor games of ice sculpture, competition, children's activities, bonfire torches, an ice and lots more, on the Ottawa Canal at Lansdowne Park, and in surrounding areas.

National Gallery of Canada  
Master Drawings  
Jan. 2 Feb. 12

Contemporary Art Drawings  
Jan. 22 Feb. 12  
Label Self-Portrait exhibition  
Feb. 12 May 21

The Canadian Spring  
Jan. 29 Feb. 27  
The Canadian Spring is the Canadian Art Museum's commemoration of the bicentennial of the birth of Alexander Muir, 1805-1885.

MEMORIAL Day Trip  
Feb. 12

A tour of Canada's major history attractions in Ontario and Western Quebec.



*Thompson (left), King's a pissing, gawky bachelor and an over-the-hill matador*

plays drawing on her girlhood in Saskatoon. The majority of them premiered south of the border, including the 1984 Tony-nominated *Pig Money* (Glass's latest drama, *Holyjacket*, tracks with the usual pathos, it opened last week at Toronto's St. Lawrence Centre in a Canadian Stage Company production, her first Canadian premiere in over five 10 years. Her change, Glass is exposing Canadians to the world's leading experts on the subject—Canadians themselves.

Like other Glass dramas, *Yesterday* comes a vein of sentimentality that has long been one of her strengths; the play is close to Stephen Leacock's *Second Sketches of a Little Town*, offering a picture of a rural, mid-century Canada rather than re-creating the 1940s from a 1980s perspective. Glass offers a cozy, nostalgic comedy, full of what, as small towns are labelled "colorful characters." Yesterday

bachelor and house painter who has been owing for the woman he lost 25 years ago. David was about to marry Milford Douglas (Kate Trotter), but on the night before the ceremony, he discovered her necklace with another star and bracelet of the engagement.

The matron is also the daily meeting place for what is known as Ragnold as "The Gathering"—the informal, whisky-slapping clique of the town's most powerful men. Although the characters are all somewhat stereotyped, Glass and the actors manage to infuse them with bawdiness, satirical vitality. The opposite-redder brother, Tim Wilcox (Andy Wilman), the blustering mayor, Angus McTavish (Michael Bell), the male police chief, Andy Campbell (Ken Jesar), and the town's stoic old-timers, Sandy MacMillan (Peter MacNeill), have a wonderfully interesting line connecting their prejudices together.

### HOLLYWOOD'S BEST-SALE LIST

#### NOMINATIONS

- 1 *Car's Eye*, Alfred (1)
- 2 *Senate of Love*, Shulie (2)
- 3 *Jealousy*, Mihály (2)
- 4 *The Lyon's Oath*, Dennis (4)
- 5 *Spy Kids*, Rodriguez (8)
- 6 *Miss Congeniality*, Dera (5)
- 7 *The Seven Ages*, Laddie (8)
- 8 *The Queen of the Damned*, Rice (7)
- 9 *General Lure*

#### NONFICTION

- 1 *The Arctic Grid*, Series (1)
  - 2 *The Phoenix Wall*, Gossage (7)
  - 3 *From the Movies*, Morrissey, Web (2)
  - 4 *A Bright Side of Times*, Ferguson (4)
  - 5 *Champions* with Parker (6)
  - 6 *Canadian Living: Marriages Goodbook*, Friesz
  - 7 *Den Hanes: A Parent's Contradiction*, Horne (2)
  - 8 *Contemporary*, Friesz (7)
  - 9 *One Law for Women: Stories of Change*, Anna, 1992-1993, Manchester (2)
  - 10 *Calling the Shots*, Den (5)
  - 11 *Practise Out West*
- Compiled by Shonda McGregor



# Closing down the options for Mulroney

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

The most important decision to be made by the Liberals this fall will be to do the House of Commons. It forces him because the unbowed Pierre Jalbert thinks the Tories could not have won, will finally step down as head of the party if he runs and—not before and not after. The Trudeau approach would be to keep it going. If changing governments are unable to run the country, then they waste and insult their own bodies, that's the end of the Westminster system that binds that country together as the railway once did.

Pierre Jalbert is 90, ready to retire to his fence rooms gone, and Brian Mulroney is mulling over his successor. There may wait the job One in Knowledge Net, the superannuated anchorman. I know he wants the job because every time one mentions the subject in front of him he expresses great surprise and ignorance of politics. Knowledge is a very suitable pay at his career altitude. For someone who once did freelance agricultural reporting in Washington, he's come a long way.

Nash, however, that Clark Kent exercise, is a very careful politician. He was in OIC management before he in effect appointed himself anchorman and he knows where all the bodies are buried and exactly who to write to to insincerely arranged cocktail parties. He has a good chance.

Patrick Watson wants the job. He isn't, unlike Nash, making much of a secret of it. More than one observer has pointed out that his magnificence, magnificence, could've turned *The Strategy for Democracy* series as a fact in his job application for the past few months. His idea for the show, as a matter of fact, came by way of Trudeau. Watson says he took much democracy from Trudeau's use of the War Measures Act and the whole load of movements in Montreal and in the middle of the night. He thus studied how fragile democracy is.

Watson, at roughly over 40 remember, was at the centre of the most exciting TV show ever created in this country. *This Hour Has Seven*



Gage was perturbed after the satirist Thor Blue Sir What That Was, put in CBC's 90 Minutes with Mike Wallace and Morley Safra and Diane Sawyer and the rest (a career show by comparison) was panned after *Seven Days*.

Watson and Lester Lapierre and Doug Letourneau created the action, which was of course their own, since it agitated the money banks in Parliament and CBC president Alphonse Daoust of course sacked them, since it was then the 1980s and the Establishment feared that the long-hoarded, deep-thinking happens with flowers in their hair were about to change the landscape.

Watson is 50 now, somewhat calmer, just as intelligent as the last interview on TV. He was seen to be only because of the deadly way he can make of allusions—political opponents he has dead and he's since it. He's a nerd. He's a good writer, although he has very little leg—the other disappointed when he left off a trial. He

also has a valuable friend in court. That would be close ally Roy Palmo, an old oil planter, formerly managing director of the CBC and cable TV executive in London. Palmo was a young Ottawa scribe when Dief was PM, first brought a Quebec type-named Denis Mulroney to Ottawa and was offered the chief staff post in the PMO in 1984. He is still in touch, however.

I tried a little research a few years ago for Adrienne Clarkson, when she was still Ontario's agent general in Paris, on the principle that an intelligent, honest old woman would be a pool for the CBC and a ally for Mulroney. All is recent, naturally, was that it failed off whatever chance she had, and she didn't speak to me again for too long a time.

The day Mulroney should choose, if you must leave, is Moses Zemser. Moses also wants the job, although he doesn't quite know how to go about applying. (He does have a job application, though that back page is the last of his resume, but who said life was fair?) Moses was the black-packeted boy wonder of the CBC back when, and is now the boss of the CTV-TV station in Toronto, the outfit that taught every other CBC outlet how to act.

He's into video, that's what he's been doing, and he's been doing it for a while now, and he's a director, which is obviously the secret of his success. (It's the appearance of *Zemser*, the "long movie," director, number 100, that started in Toronto, is still running in Los Angeles and is now intriguing New York, as audiences follow the action from room to room while passing for dinner—and that starts his body of 28 years, Marilyn Lightstone.)

Moses has a mind that moves faster than a circumference account, and his wife/kid will apply the logic out of every interconnected CBC bureautic, and his campaign (the campaign) is probably being passed off late to do any good. He's wanted the job for some time, but doesn't have the leverage Ottawa that Nash and Watson have.

Mulroney, as we all know, relies heavily on this department for advice. He hardly sleeps without pondering the latest fax wisdom waiting his way from this page. Moses would be too off-the-wall for a second-term government trying for a place in history. It's doubtful that government has the courage to gather on Watson, as social performer and brilliant producer he would be put in charge of the senior counters and the senior deliberates. The choice will probably be some central administrator of the right, deathbedded political background who knows how to dress and can baffle before a parliamentary committee. Oh well. We tried.

## Simply calling it a hatchback would reduce it to the level of its competitors.

The all-new Cobalt is a sedan but your community or garden hatchback is a much more cutesy and very supportive vehicle. Designed by Mitsubishi, in Japan, every detail has been

At least the choices are year-round, so you could drive it in a hatchback. CHRYSLER CANADA Changing the landscape

soft underneath, you'd find independent McPherson strut coil springs. Acting with a standard steel stabilizer system and front wheel drive road control. A package with two qualities inside: stability and fun beneath



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